

Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly

VOLUME XXIV

NUMBER 3

OCTOBER

1951



The History of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis 1847—1865

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II, b

The Seminary in the Formative Years, 1850—1860

In the second half of this decade, the academy staff was augmented by two other men, A. F. Hoppe, and S. Kleppisch, both of whom taught temporarily. Hoppe, who had just come from Germany, taught Greek in the academy in the winter of 1855—1856.¹ Hoppe later became well known as the editor of the St. Louis Edition of Luther's works, the largest American edition of Luther that has been produced. Kleppisch, a seminary student who interrupted his studies to help out in the academy, received the title Collaborator, and taught in the lower classes in the last few years of this decade.²

In 1859 a Norwegian professorship was also established at the Seminary. Norwegian Lutherans had been emigrating in considerable numbers since about 1840, settling mostly in Wisconsin and Iowa. The Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America was organized, but did not have its own theological seminary. In 1856, therefore, this body resolved that two of their men, Brandt and Ottesen, were to visit and inspect the three conservative Lutheran theological seminaries in America, Grabau's in Buffalo, the Ohio Synod Seminary in Columbus, and Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, to see at which of these institutions it would be most propitious for the Norwegians to train their men.³ After this tour of inspection the recommendation was made to the Norwegian

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¹ *Der Lutheraner*, XVI, p. 163.

² *Synodal-Bericht*, 1860, p. 25.

³ Fuerbringer: *Walthers Briefe*, I, p. 105; *Der Lutheraner*, XIV, p. 67 f.

Synod to establish a Norwegian professorship at St. Louis. Negotiations were then begun with the Missouri Synod for this purpose.⁴ The Norwegians wanted to get a young, capable theologian from Norway to fill this position. The agreement was then made with the Missouri Synod that the Norwegian professor was to teach German to the Norwegian students whom the Norwegian Synod intended to send to Concordia, so that they would eventually be able to attend the German lectures. But the Norwegian professor was to train them further in Norwegian and was also to lecture in German or Latin for the benefit of the whole student body. The Norwegian Synod was to have the right to select the man, but he would have to be approved by the Missouri Synod and would have to pledge himself on the six Lutheran Confessions and declare against chiliasm. The Lutherans of Norway were not accustomed to pledge on all six confessions when they took their oath of ordination; furthermore, there was a disagreeable controversy concerning chiliasm being carried on in the Missouri Synod at this time, and the Missouri Synod was trying to guard against getting a Norwegian professor who held unorthodox views. According to the agreement, furthermore, the Norwegian professor was to be a member of the Norwegian Synod; the Norwegian students were to be accorded the same financial arrangements at the Seminary as the Missouri Synod students if the Norwegian laymen and congregations would support the Seminary as did the German Lutherans.

But there was some difficulty and delay in getting a good theologian from Norway, and therefore the Norwegian Synod finally appointed the Rev. Lauritz Larsen, a Norwegian-American, to fill this professorship. Larsen arrived at Concordia on November 1, 1859.⁵ At this time there were already seven Norwegian students enrolled at Concordia.

The courses of study offered in the academy of this time were the following.⁶

Prima (the highest class)

Hebrew: grammar, exercises, and reading;

Greek: reading of a Greek historian, an orator, statesman, and a poet, usually Thucydides, Demosthenes, Xenophon, Plato, and Sophocles, respectively; Greek composition, history of literature;

Latin: reading one historian and one poet, usually Tacitus and Horace, one to be discussed in Latin; Latin dialectics and history of literature;

⁴ *Synodal-Bericht*, 1857, p. 53 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XVII, p. 82 f.

⁵ *Der Lutheraner*, XVI, p. 55.

German: history of literature and reading excerpts of literature;

English: history of literature and some reading;

Religion: Dogmatics (systematic theology), Church History, and reading the New Testament in Greek;

Philosophy: logic, metaphysics, political science, and history of philosophy;

Mathematics: trigonometry, "Kegelschnitte, Planimetrie und Stereometrie";

History: review of political history, in connection with humanities, Jewish and Christian ancient history, and bibliography.

Secunda

Greek: grammar and written exercises, reading Xenophon's *Anabasis*, Herodotos, Plutarch, and Homer, and memorizing a vocabulary book;

Latin: grammar and composition, reading Livy, Caesar, Cicero, Virgil, and Ovid, and memorizing a vocabulary book;

German: grammar, rhetoric, composition, and speeches;

English: grammar, rhetoric, composition, and speeches;

Philosophy: geology, astronomy, chemistry, physiology, and psychology;

Mathematics: Fries' book was used;

History: ancient history, Greek and Roman history and mythology;

Geography: "Alte und mathematische."

The courses for the lower classes were not always as clearly distinguished as those for Prima and Secunda. In Greek, Tertia and Quarta together took easy written exercises, grammar, and "Chrestomathie." In Latin, Tertia took writing and grammar, and read Caesar and Ovid. Quarta took grammar and writing, and read Nepos and Phaedrus. Quinta studied grammar. In German, reading, writing, grammar, penmanship, writing business letters, and declamations were taught in the lower classes ("lower academy," in which classes were arranged especially for those who did not intend to study theology). The following topics were taught in the English courses for the lower classes: reading, writing, grammar, penmanship, writing business letters, speeches, German-English and English-German translation, and memorizing a vocabulary. In the field of Religion, Tertia took Reformation History and the History of the Confessions, and the lower classes took Bible History, Bible reading, and Catechism, and memorized passages from the Bible and various hymns. Courses were also conducted in zoology, botany, mineralogy, and physics for the lower classes, as also arithmetic and book-keeping, English, German and American History, general and American geography, as also Biblical geography. Classes in Ger-

man and English were taught in the lower classes, and private instruction in French, Spanish, and Italian, and music was offered.

Courses were begun with the opening of the spring and fall semester, which began after the spring and fall vacations, respectively. The spring vacation was two weeks long, beginning with the Saturday before Holy Week. The fall vacation started August 24 and ran for five weeks. Christmas vacation usually consisted of two weeks, and an additional vacation of eight days at Pentecost was also granted. Examinations were conducted at the end of each semester, and grades were sent out to the parents or guardians. On the diplomas, the students were graded as *praesertim dignus*, *dignus*, or *satis dignus*.

In this decade students were not graduated after having attended a certain number of years, but were dismissed whenever they were considered sufficiently trained to enter the ministry. In 1853 the first students were graduated after the Seminary's transfer to St. Louis. Six men were dismissed at this time, but one acted as assistant pastor for one year and then took his final examinations for the theological diploma. All six of these students had entered the school in 1850 or before. Since the five who received their diploma in 1853 were graduated at the end of the spring semester, the minimum of time that they attended the Seminary was three years, which included preparatory and theological training. But it is possible that some of them attended longer.

The next graduation took place in the fall of 1855, when Paul Beyer was dismissed, who had matriculated in 1851. The maximum of time that he attended was therefore $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. In the spring of 1856 five more students were graduated. Three of these seem to have entered in 1850 and therefore attended about six years. One had entered in 1851 and therefore attended no longer than five years. One had matriculated in 1853 and therefore attended no longer than three years.

In 1857 one student was graduated, but the records do not state when he matriculated. Two more graduated in 1858, one of whom seems to have entered in 1850, and one in 1853. The first therefore attended about eight years, and the second five years. In 1859 three more graduated, but the date of matriculation of only one of them is given in the records. He attended for six years. In 1860 ten students graduated, but the date of matriculation of two is not given. The average attendance for the other eight is 6.37 years. The average length of attendance of those students

about whom statistics are given, and who graduated between 1850 to 1860, is about 5.8 years. But some allowance has to be made for the indefiniteness of the date of matriculation of the first class to be graduated from St. Louis. In this respect, therefore, the policy of the Seminary was very flexible and was adjusted to individual cases. This was necessary, too, since some of the men who matriculated at the Seminary during the first decades had already received some training in the schools of Germany or had been tutored before they entered the Seminary. But for those students who had only elementary training, the usual course of studies, since the middle of this decade, was considered six years in the academy and three in the theological department.

In other respects, too, the policy of the Seminary was more definitely formulated during this period. For the first year of this decade, problems of administration were usually referred to an annual convention of the Synod. But in 1854 the Synod was divided into four Districts because the organization had grown tremendously and was becoming too unwieldy as one unit. Each District then had a convention for two consecutive years, and in the third year the general convention of the Synod met. Because the conventions were held less often, and because the general business increased from year to year, fewer of the administrative problems of the Seminary could be discussed, and therefore the board of control and the faculty were more and more relied on to solve all problems.⁷

Authority was taken from the synodical conventions and vested in the presidency when that office was formally established in 1854.⁸ Before this the Synod had only appointed a chairman of the faculty, but now the office of president became a permanent and lifetime position, to be vested in one man, till he should resign, or till he should be found guilty of either false doctrine, an unchristian life, or serious neglect of duty. Walther, the first faculty chairman, was also the first president, an office which he held till his death in 1887. The president of the Seminary was to be the contact man at the Seminary with the synodical officials. He was to have supervision over faculty and students in both departments. The director of the academy was under his authority. He was to visit all the classes of all the professors in the academy and see to it that the proper methods were used and that the material was divided properly.

⁷ *Synodal-Bericht*, 1857, p. 104 f.

⁸ *Synodal-Bericht*, 1854, p. 12 f.

If the suggestion of the president in any case was not heeded, he was to carry the issue to the board of control. If this did not avail, then the authority of the synodical president was to be invoked, and finally the authority of a session of the Synod. The director of the academy was to supervise the discipline and life of the academy students, their application during study hours, their conduct during recreation, and their general cleanliness and orderliness.⁹

The faculty alone had the right to decide whether or not a student should graduate or enter the ministry.¹⁰ In this period there were always more requests for pastors than there were men available.¹¹ Walther therefore stated that no applications of a congregation to the Seminary for a pastor would be recognized unless the District President in whose territory the congregation was located had first investigated the degree of need.¹² All the District Presidents would investigate the vacancies in their District and would then meet with the faculty shortly before graduation to decide how to distribute the men who were available. The Presidents would state the urgency of the vacancies, and the faculty would decide where the men were needed most. But Walther, as president and as a great theologian, had the implicit trust of his colleagues, and to Walther alone sometimes was delegated the authority to decide how the men should be distributed, so that Walther placed the available men almost at will.¹³ It seems that Walther examined most of the Fort Wayne graduates before they were admitted into the ministry.¹⁴ He had the authority to delegate to someone else the duty of examining candidates for the ministry.¹⁵ A candidate for the ministry who desired to take charge of a congregation which held membership in the Synod was not permitted to function without being properly ordained. To be properly ordained, he had to be ordained by authority of the Synod, which authority was vested in the President, and after 1854, delegated by the synodical President to the District Presidents. In spite of the democratic principle underlying the organization of the Synod, a considerable amount of authority was vested in the President of the Synod and in the president of the Seminary. Since Walther was president of the Seminary, and also for many years President of the Synod, to say

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Fuerbringer: *Walther's Briefe*, I, p. 215.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 65, 107, 159, 235; *Synodal-Bericht*, 1851, p. 19.

¹² Fuerbringer: *Walther's Briefe*, I, p. 215.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

nothing of his presidency of the Synodical Conference, a federation of Midwest Lutheran synods, which for a few years he held simultaneously with the other two offices, more authority was vested in Walther than in any other man.

Walther was also the founder and for many years the editor of *Der Lutheraner* and *Lehre und Wehre*, the two official publications of the Synod, the former to provide Christian literature especially for laymen, the latter to furnish theological materials and helps to the pastors. All the articles which were printed in these two publications were always read in meetings of the whole faculty and had to meet the approval of that body. However, as president of the faculty and as editor, Walther had by far the most authority in respect to policy. But the faculty as a body was to assist the editor of the papers in editing all the materials.¹⁶ There was, however, another most important development in respect to the position of the faculty, besides training and examining men for the ministry, as already pointed out, for the Synod officially designated the St. Louis faculty as that body which should publicize the tenets and teachings of the Synod in its official publications.¹⁷ This meant not only that the faculty received the official order to censor and edit everything which others submitted for the publications, but also that the faculty men themselves wrote much of the material for the publications. Furthermore, if special problems of doctrine or life arose which an individual congregation or pastor could not solve, such a case was to be referred to the St. Louis faculty for a decision. Thus the St. Louis faculty was made the official supreme court of the Synod. This power, together with its administrative and editorial functions, practically put it into a position to control the life of the Synod.

During this time, too, the influence of the Seminary increased in another respect. During the first years of the Synod many of its theologians came from Germany and were, therefore, not trained by the Synod. To be sure that such men conformed to the doctrinal pattern of the Synod, they were first examined before being admitted into the ministry. Because these men had been trained in various institutions, only a certain degree of uniformity could be achieved. Many men, of diverse walks of life and of various backgrounds, had been sent by Loehe. Many of his men had received in Germany almost all of the theological training which they ever

¹⁶ *Synodal-Bericht*, 1860, p. 61.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

received. However, during the course of the Missouri Synod disputes with Grabau, Loehe gradually drifted farther from Missouri and closer to Grabau in the earlier half of this decade.¹⁸ Loehe therefore no longer supplied the Missouri Synod with ministerial material. The Missouri Synod now had to recruit its ministry from its own congregations and from among those young men who were sent from Germany by the few friends who were left there after the Synod had repeatedly castigated Loehe and some of the other prominent theologians of Germany for favoring Grabau. But these young men who were sent to the Missouri Synod by friends in Germany were considerably fewer than those who had been sent by Loehe, and they had not received as much training. They were therefore amalgamated at the Seminary with those men who had been recruited from the Synod's own congregations. Therefore, after the break with Loehe, practically all the pastors of the Missouri Synod were cut after one pattern and were fed into the ministerial pool through one funnel.

The Seminary, officially incorporated in 1858, therefore, became a very influential institution within ten years from the time that it was taken over by the Missouri Synod, although its financial status during this time still seemed somewhat uncertain. Even towards the end of this decade the St. Louis congregation was its main financial support. In 1858 the total monthly salary for the professors was \$262.50.¹⁹ Whether this was only for the regular professors or whether it also included the assistants is not stated. But it must have averaged about \$50.00 per month or less per individual. The St. Louis congregation paid the salary of one man. Besides this, a fund established from the proceeds of the sales of the hymnal which the St. Louis congregation had published and from the profits of *Der Lutheraner* almost covered two more salaries. But the rest of the Synod was hardly able to collect the remainder of the money, about half of the total. Moneys for the support of the Seminary were still gathered from voluntary contributions of individuals and of congregations. Friends in Germany helped along.²⁰ When there was a deficit in the Seminary treasury, a special collection was held in all the congregations of the Synod which chose to do so.²¹

In this way the financial needs of the Seminary were taken

¹⁸ Neve-Allbeck: *op. cit.*, pp. 274—277.

²⁰ *Der Lutheraner*, XIII, p. 165.

¹⁹ *Synodal-Bericht, Westlichen Districts*, 1858, p. 32.

²¹ *Ibid.*, XV, p. 39.

care of. Of course, large salaries could not be paid. In 1860 the highest-paid man on the faculty was Walther, who received \$500.00 per year. The lowest was \$300.00 per year.²² Students did not contribute anything but the cost of the food. Board was very reasonable, only \$1.25 per week. Whenever farmers donated food, the charge for board was reduced proportionately, so that usually the charge for board was only about \$4.00 per month.²³

But in spite of this rather precarious financial situation, the synodical system of pensions for widows and orphans of synodical employees was started at this time. After Biewend died, the Western District took the responsibility of continuing the full and regular payment of salary to Mrs. Biewend till other steps could be taken. A committee was then appointed to study the matter of pensions. Upon its recommendation, a widows' and orphans' fund was established from donations from the congregations. Widows of synodical employees were to receive a \$150.00 annual pension, and \$30.00 extra for each child.²⁴

III

The Seminary During the Civil War, 1861—1865

Ever since the meetings preliminary to the organization of the Missouri Synod it had been considered good by some to unite the two seminaries. As mentioned above, Walther and Loeber had agreed to unite the two at Fort Wayne. Probably the financial assistance of the St. Louis congregation kept Concordia Seminary in Missouri. Officially nothing more was said for almost fifteen years about uniting the institutions, although there seems to have been some private sentiment in favor of it. But in 1860 it was proposed to the Synod to unite the two institutions in St. Louis.¹ One reason advanced in favor of such a plan was that it would be easier to guard the doctrine of the Synod if there were only one faculty to prepare men for the ministry. The professors would also be able to specialize more effectively if the two faculties were joined, and therefore individually and collectively the professors could produce better-trained men. Furthermore, the proposals suggested that if the synodical professors were united in one faculty, they would have greater opportunity to hand down the traditions of

²² *Synodal-Bericht*, 1863, p. 72.

²³ *Der Lutheraner*, XVI, p. 163; *Synodal-Bericht*, 1863, p. 71.

²⁴ *Synodal-Bericht*, *Westlichen Districts*, 1858, p. 32 f.

¹ *Synodal-Bericht*, 1860, pp. 59—64.

the institutions and would be in a much better position to get several young men whom they could train as their successors. Hitherto the resources of both schools had been so limited that the faculties had been kept at an absolute minimum. It might be considerably cheaper in the aggregate if the two institutions were united, and therefore it might be possible to appoint several younger men to the faculty, not because they were absolutely needed for teaching, but because it would present an opportunity to train them and thus enable them eventually to take over the task of ministerial training. Another argument advanced in favor of uniting the schools was that if only one theological school was maintained, the faculty would become better acquainted with all the candidates for the ministry and would thus be able to distribute them better according to their gifts or shortcomings. It was also thought that it would be an advantage to have the "practical" students mingle with those in the "theoretical" department, because the latter could encourage the former to a more thorough study of theology, whereas the former could influence the latter to better trends in applied theology. Furthermore, the older students of the "practical" department could stabilize the student body. It was admitted, however, that some competition and envy might arise between these two types of students.

To carry out this proposed plan of union, it was suggested that the preparatory department of the St. Louis institution should be moved to Fort Wayne, and that the Fort Wayne Seminary with its preparatory department should be moved to St. Louis. This was, however, not a plan for a complete organic union, for the "practical" department was to keep its abbreviated course, and the "theoretical" department was to keep its heavy theological courses. But several courses were to be common to both departments. The union, therefore, was to be partly geographic and partly organic.

But before the preparatory department of the St. Louis institution could be moved to Fort Wayne and the "practical" Seminary moved from there to St. Louis, developments of national importance took place which, it was feared, would almost make it impossible to execute the Synod's plans in regard to its seminaries.

On November 6, 1860, Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States by a Republican victory. Lincoln, convinced that slavery was morally wrong, was determined to keep the Western territories of the United States free of it. This attitude had caused alarm and dismay among the Southern slaveholders. South

Carolina, therefore, seceded from the Union on December 20, 1860. Between January 9 and February 1, 1861, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas followed suit.² In February the Confederacy was organized. The strained relations between the North and the South erupted on April 12, when Confederate forces fired on the Union forces in Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor. In the Confederate States there was, generally speaking, solidarity of purpose among the people. In the border slave States, however, there was divided opinion and loyalty.³ Blood was shed, and numerous other unpleasant incidents occurred in these border States, because both sides were trying to secure them.

At the outbreak of the War the Missouri Synod was working chiefly in the North. There were two synodical congregations in New Orleans and one in Texas, and these, naturally, were now separated from the main body of the Synod for a while. Besides this work in the Southern States, the Synod also worked in two border States, Maryland and Missouri. In Baltimore, where the Synod had several congregations, one of them was forced out of existence during the War. It is true that the War caused some hardships on this congregation, since the church was occupied as a hospital and many of the male members were scattered over the country, but it was not only the War which caused the death of this congregation, but chiefly the language question.⁴ This congregation was one of the first attempts at an English Lutheran congregation in the circles of the Missouri Synod and had evoked the most severe opposition from the ultraconservative part of the Missouri Synod clergy, especially from the Rev. E. W. G. Keyl, who was at this time serving the German Lutheran congregation in Baltimore.⁵ The young English congregation, without the support

² James Ford Rhodes: *History of the Civil War*, New York, 1919, p. 5.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Lincoln's conviction that slavery was morally wrong was not stated in the campaign. He certainly was "convinced," but found it politically expedient not to say so. He regularly avoided the Abolitionists, whom he disliked (e. g., Sumner). Lincoln was carefully guarding the campaign promise when the question of the Emancipation Proclamation was considered. In August, 1862, Lincoln stated: "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union and not to save or destroy slavery."

The South feared Lincoln's stand would be different. Largely because of demagogues, the people of the South felt Lincoln's election meant either the immediate end of slavery or war. — W. H. L.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 24 f.; Edward Conrad Smith: *The Borderland in the Civil War*, New York, 1927, pp. 96 f., 167.

⁴ *Der Lutheraner*, XIV, pp. 21, 52; *Synodal-Bericht, Oestlichen Distrikts*; 1855, p. 22; *Synodal-Bericht*, 1857, p. 51.

⁵ *Synodal-Bericht, Oestlichen Distrikts*, 1855, p. 22.

of the German Lutherans, could not withstand the rigors of the War. But this, it seems, did not retard the German work of the Synod much, although the English work seems to have lost some prestige, since one of the first attempts at English work had to be discontinued.

But in Missouri there were greater hardships, the direct result of the War. Here bushwhackers raised havoc among the membership of the synodical congregations. Biltz, one of the first graduates of the Seminary and a pastor in Lafayette County, Missouri, at this time, was several times captured by the guerrillas, but always escaped with his life, although in one period of eight weeks nineteen of his male members were murdered by the bushwhackers. Biltz was a member of the local guards who tried to restrict the activity of these marauding bands. Several other Missouri Synod pastors experienced the sting of the sudden attacks of guerrilla bands.⁶

One of the Missouri Synod clergy, the Rev. Friedrich Wilhelm Richmann, served as the chaplain of an Ohio regiment during the war.⁷ Another, the Rev. M. Eirich, worked among the wounded soldiers in the hospitals.

During the early days of the Civil War, Missouri, the only slave border State west of the Mississippi, hung in the balance between North and South. Among the rich slaveholders living in the counties along the Missouri River, popular opinion was against a civil war, because this territory was too vulnerable to an attack from Northern forces. In southwestern Missouri the sentiment was mostly pro-Union. In St. Louis there was considerable pro-Southern sympathy, but generally speaking, St. Louisans did not seem too anxious to get into a war. The leaders of both parties in Missouri strove to force a decision favorable to their own cause.⁸

When Lincoln sent out his call for 75,000 volunteers for the Union armies after the attack on Fort Sumter, Governor Jackson of Missouri refused to send a single man. Determined to seize the property of the United States within the borders of Missouri, and wishing to get the pro-Southern forces into control of the strategic points in the State, the Governor had a company of militia seize the arsenal at Liberty on April 20, 1861. He also desired to take the much greater military supplies in the arsenal in St. Louis and

⁶ *Der Lutheraner*, XXI, p. 47.

⁸ Smith: *op. cit.*, p. 223.

⁷ CONCORDIA HISTORICAL INSTITUTE QUARTERLY, XVII, p. 97 f.

therefore ordered some militia to encamp just outside the city for the purpose of eventually taking the arsenal.⁹

In the meantime, Francis P. Blair and Captain Lyon, two aggressive Federalists, were sparing no efforts to secure St. Louis and its arsenal for the Union forces. Lyon was in charge of the arsenal and organized several regiments of volunteers to hold the city against Jackson's forces. He succeeded in safely transferring most of the arms in the arsenal to Illinois, to prevent their seizure by the Secessionist forces. But Governor Jackson, having been advised that the arsenal could not be taken without artillery, procured several cannons from President Jefferson Davis of the Confederacy, which had been seized in the United States arsenal at Baton Rouge. Lyon, however, had occupied the heights west of the arsenal where Jackson wanted General Frost to establish the artillery, and therefore another site had to be chosen for the State militia camp. On May third 700 State militia encamped on the western outskirts of the city, founding Camp Jackson.¹⁰

Lyon had a large number of Germans in his Union forces, with which he hoped to be able to hold St. Louis for the North. In fact, Germans were strongly represented in the Union forces everywhere. They furnished more soldiers for the North than any other national group.¹¹ Many of them were of the well-known Forty-eighters, who had been forced to flee from Germany when their revolution of 1848 was a failure. Many of them had had military experience, which stood the Union armies in good stead. The Forty-eighters were revolutionaries and liberals, opposed to such undemocratic institutions as slavery.¹² Their alignment with the Union forces was therefore natural. The Germans in the Union forces were considered much too radical by the Southern sympathizers in St. Louis, and some clashes of Lyon's forces with the citizenry resulted.¹³ Added to this was the threat of a conflict of Lyon's forces with Jackson's militia. Some of the St. Louisans aligned themselves with Lyon's volunteers, and some with Jackson's forces. Even among Walther's parishioners there was divided loyalty, a part going over to one camp, and a part to the other.¹⁴

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

¹⁰ J. Thomas Scharf: *History of Saint Louis*, Philadelphia, 1883, p. 492 f.

¹¹ Wilhelm Kaufmann: *Die Deutschen im amerikanischen Buergerkriege*, Muenchen, 1911, p. 119 f.; Albert Bernhardt Faust: *The German Element in the United States*, New York, 1927, I, p. 524.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 105.

¹³ Smith: *op. cit.*, p. 238 f.; Scharf: *op. cit.*, p. 497.

¹⁴ Walther to Schmidt, May 17, 1861, in Walther papers in C. H. I.

The danger was acute, and the atmosphere was tense. It was feared that a bloody conflict between the two camps could not be avoided. Early in May, therefore, Walther closed the Seminary and sent the students home. He sent his family out into the country near Jefferson City to stay with some friends. All the other professors also sent their families out of town, and only Saxer and Walther remained in the Seminary buildings.¹⁵

Walther was not very much in sympathy with the Germans who were trying to hold St. Louis for the North. He considered the Forty-eighters as much too radical. Neither did he agree with the antislavery attitude of the Republican Party, with which the Forty-eighters had allied themselves. When the Seminary had to be closed because of the threatened conflict of Lyon's forces with the State militia, he complained because the Republicans had brought things to this sad state of affairs. Walther wrote to a friend:

Wir sind in grosser Gefahr, da wir es nicht mit dem republikanischen Poebel halten, dieser Umsturzpartei, die jetzt die Fahne der Loyalitaet aufgezogen hat in unaussprechlicher Heuchelei.¹⁶

But on May tenth Lyon marched out several thousand Union troops, surrounded Camp Jackson and demanded the surrender of the State forces. The commander of the camp could do nothing but yield, since it would have been very difficult to defend the camp against such a superior force. But the peace of St. Louis was not established by the capture of the State militia, since the Southern sympathizers made demonstrations against the German forces under Lyon. The city was in such a state of disturbance that martial law had to be established. But the storm quieted when General Harney, who was a better diplomat than Lyon, was sent to take charge of the Union forces in St. Louis.¹⁷

Because of the disturbances in St. Louis in 1861 it was feared that the Synod's plans for shuffling the institutions between St. Louis and Fort Wayne could not be carried out. It almost seemed as if the leaders had resigned themselves to postponing this plan indefinitely. But then the disturbances, which at first seemed to

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Walther wrote: "Die gegenwaertigen weit aussehenden Kriegsunruhen machen es aber sehr unwahrscheinlich, dass wir im Stande sein werden neue Stellen zu gruenden. Wir werden grosse Noth haben, nur uns zu erhalten, was wir bereits haben. Fast laesst es sich jetzt so an, als ob St. Louis bald kein Platz mehr sein werde, um in dieser Stadt eine Anstalt fuer unsere meist in den s. g. freien Staaten befindliche Synode zu unterhalten. Wie es aber moeglich werden soll, wenn wir hier nicht wieder anfangen koennen, alle unsere Anstalten in Fort Wayne zu placieren, begreife ich nicht. Deus providebit."

¹⁶ Fuerbringer: *Walthers Briefe*, I, p. 164.

¹⁷ Smith: *op. cit.*, p. 240.

necessitate keeping the *status quo*, made it almost imperative to carry out the plans immediately.

In Indiana the military draft threatened to exterminate the student body at the "practical" Seminary. All over eighteen were subject to the draft.¹⁸ Since practically all the students at the school were over this age, some measures had to be taken to preserve the student body. In Missouri, however, Walther was able to obtain assurance that none of his students would be drafted.¹⁹ Walther himself was protected from the draft by virtue of being "president of Concordia College."²⁰ Because practically none of the preparatory students of the "theoretical" Seminary were within the Indiana draft age, the only solution to the problem seemed to be to move them to Fort Wayne and to move the "practical" students to St. Louis, where the older men would be able to get the benefit of the special concession which Walther had been able to obtain. This, of course, was the same plan advanced already. It was also feared that the parents of the young preparatory students would not permit their boys to come to St. Louis in September, 1861, because the dangers of a conflict in or near St. Louis between Union forces and the armies of the South had not yet abated.²¹ The plan of the Synod to move the St. Louis preparatory department to Fort Wayne and to move the "practical" Seminary with its preparatory department from Fort Wayne to St. Louis was therefore carried out in the summer of 1861. Already in June, Walther thought it safe to plan the opening of the combined schools in St. Louis for September 1, 1861. His personal wish was to move the Seminary out of St. Louis completely, but no facilities could be found anywhere else to house the institution, and therefore he resigned himself to remaining in the city.²²

But because the students were exempt from the draft not by law, but only by special concession, many of them did not come to St. Louis in September, 1861. For this school year only thirty-six students enrolled. By the summer of 1862, however, the draft laws of Missouri stated definitely that the students of incorporated

¹⁸ *Synodal-Bericht*, 1863, p. 70 f.

¹⁹ Walther to Johannes (Walther), July 19, 1861, in Walther papers in C. H. I.

²⁰ Walther's Civil War draft exemption, in Walther papers in C. H. I.

²¹ Smith: *op. cit.*, pp. 257 ff.; Scharf: *op. cit.*, p. 522.

²² Fuerbringer: *Walthers Briefe*, p. 168 f.

colleges were draft exempt.²³ Consequently Walther wrote to all his students who had failed to appear in September, 1861, telling them that it was absolutely safe to come back to St. Louis in September, 1862.²⁴ As a result the enrollment jumped to eighty-four this year.

As already stated, Walther was a conservative and did not share the liberal views of most of the Germans in America at that time. His sentiments, if they leaned in any direction, favored the South. He did not condone the antislavery attitude of the North-



The building in Fort Wayne, Ind., where the academy was located after its removal from St. Louis

erners. He held that the Holy Scriptures did not expressly forbid slavery as an institution, but that it rather commanded slaves to be obedient to their masters and that therefore the antislavery sentiments of the North could not be condoned.²⁵ His views on these matters were seldom expressed, however, which is probably the reason why the books written on the attitude of the Germans and the Lutherans during the Civil War do not recognize the fact that Walther differed with practically all the other Germans and Lu-

²³ *Synodal-Bericht*, 1863, p. 72.

²⁴ Walther to Johannes (Walther), August 11, 1862, in Walther papers in C. H. I.

²⁵ *Der Lutheraner*, XIX, p. 2.

therans in this country on these issues.²⁶ Nothing is said about the pro-Southern views in the official statements of the Synod. Only a few references are found in *Der Lutheraner*, consisting chiefly of a serial article by Sihler of Fort Wayne, defending slavery as an institution.²⁷ Sihler was reported to Walther as having been incarcerated for having written this article, although his defense of the institution of slavery was modified by stating that sound Christianity should be promulgated, which should then counteract the evils and abuses of slavery.

Walther himself wrote a few items for *Der Lutheraner* concerning his views on slavery, but in general was very careful about expressing himself in print or in public.²⁸ He never expressed his opinions officially, as representing the Seminary, and confined his opinions to his private correspondence for the most part. In his letters, however, his views are stated unmistakably.

In spite of his disdain for the Republican Party, which was in power in the North, Walther held that on the basis of Rom. 13: 1-7 Christians should be obedient to that government which had power over them. This is the advice he gave to the readers of *Der*

²⁶ Kaufmann: *op. cit.*, seems not to have been cognizant of Walther's position. But a German scholar could hardly be expected to have had the small amount of material extant on this point. The American scholars, however, like Heathcote: *The Lutheran Church and the Civil War*, Burlington, Iowa, 1919, should have known better, because the pro-Democratic political attitude sponsored by Walther was evident among the Missouri Synod clergy long after the Civil War. Heathcote claims to have worked through a vast amount of material, but his treatment of the matter is rather poorly done. Abdel Ross Wentz: *The Lutheran Church in American History*, Second Edition, Philadelphia, 1933, has a good treatment of the Eastern Lutherans and their relations to the Civil War, but says nothing of Walther. Heinz Kloss: *Um die Einigung des Deutschamerikanertums*, Berlin, 1937, p. 49, takes cognizance of the disagreement between Walther and the Forty-eighters, by saying: "Walther . . . aeusserte . . . sein Erstaunen darueber, wie bedenkenlos die anglo-amerikanischen Kirchenanhaenger im Kampf gegen die Sklaverei mit den deutschen Rationalisten und Achtundvierzigern zusammengingen." Although Kloss has some good analyses of the relations of the various German-American groups to one another, he does not develop the question of Walther's relation to the Civil War. Faust: *op. cit.*, pp. 522-539, also does not mention Walther's rightist position. The failure of these books to elucidate on this point is very likely due to two factors. First of all, an exhaustive history of the Missouri Synod or of Walther's life has never been written. The three biographies of Walther referred to previously, none of which is considered exhaustive, do not treat his political views. Polack: *op. cit.*, and Dau: *op. cit.*, the two English volumes on the work of the Missouri Synod, do not go beyond incidental references to the Civil War. Chr. Hochstetter: *Die Geschichte der Evangelisch-lutherischen Missouri-Synode*, Dresden, 1885, also makes no mention of this point. Secondly, Walther's extreme conservative influence was no doubt somewhat insignificant in the face of the overwhelming influence of the more liberal Germans.

²⁷ *Der Lutheraner*, XIX, pp. 89-93, 97-101, 106 f.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 33, XIX, p. 2, XX, p. 189.

Lutheraner.²⁹ He attacked the Union's antislavery attitude and called it an attempt of the Republicans to interpret Scripture themselves and to try to make others accept the same human interpretations. He regretted this trend and accused the antislavery men of making their voice the voice of God. But, said he, Lutherans should not refuse to serve in the army or fail to obey the Government in other respects, as long as the Government did not command them to do something contrary to the Word of God.

On the other hand, Walther seemed to condone the secession of the Southern States, but not the concomitant military action against the Union. He wrote very little about this, but in his private letters he said that since the princes of Germany were, according to some writers, justified in fighting against the emperor in the Thirty Years' War, why were not the Southern States justified in their secession?³⁰ He, therefore, does not seem to have considered the United States as one nation, but as a federation of sovereign and independent States, like those of Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He certainly did not agree with Lincoln on the question of a State's right to withdraw from the Union.

Even though Walther's regard for the Federal Government and its supporters was not very high, yet, because he advocated obedience to that Government and made it a point to keep his political views from the general public, he was not in any serious difficulties during the early years of the war. Towards the close of the war, however, there was some sentiment against him. Seyffarth, who had received his two years' leave of absence from the Seminary faculty to do research work in New York, knew intimately what Walther's personal views were on slavery and the War. Seyffarth wrote some newspaper articles in which he attacked Walther's opinions on these issues.³¹ A number of papers throughout the country gave them some publicity. Thereupon the demand was made of the provost marshal in St. Louis, through the public press, that Walther be seized and hanged. He was, however, not even arrested. But the incident seems to have resulted in Seyffarth's resignation from the faculty. In fact, Seyffarth fell into very ill repute in Missouri Synod circles. It seems quite certain that this disrepute was due to Seyffarth's criticism of Walther's views on slavery. Whereas, when Seyffarth came to the Seminary,

²⁹ *Ibid.*, XIX, p. 2. ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

³⁰ Fuerbringer: *Walthers Briefe*, I, p. 227.

Kriegsnachrichten.

(Eingefandt von Prof. Seyffarth.)

Ist die Erhaltung und Verbreitung der gegenwärtigen Negerklaverei eine Sünde, oder nicht? *

Sündschreiben an die Glieder der Synode von
Missouri, Ohio u. a. St.

„Ein Prediger muß nicht allein weiden, sondern auch daneben den Wölfen wehren, daß sie die Schaafe nicht angreifen und mit falscher Lehre verführen und Irrthümer einführen; wie denn der Teufel nicht ruht.“ Luther.

In tiefer Betrübniß richte ich an Sie, theure Brüder in dem Herrn, nachstehende Zeilen, weil dieselben einen Mann betreffen, den ich früher ebenso hoch geschätzt habe, als Sie.

Es ist Ihnen bekannt, daß im Organe der Synode, in „Lehre und Wehre, herausgegeben von der Deutsch Ev. Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. St., redigirt von C. F. W. Walther und C. F. R. Lange, 1862, S. 105 — 110,“ wenn wir das Ganze kurz zusammen fassen, Folgendes gelehrt wird: die gegenwärtige Negerklaverei in den Ver. Staaten ist „eine göttliche Ordnung,“ die erhalten und verbreitet werden muß; wer dieß nicht annimmt, ist kein wirklicher Lutheraner und Christ; der gegenwärtige Bürgerkrieg von Seiten des Nordens ist ein Kampf wider Gottes Gebote u. s. w.

Gleich nach Durchlesung dieses entsetzlichen Aussages schrieb ich an Hrn. Professor Walther, um ihn daran zu erinnern, daß die Schrift zwar unter gewissen Bedingungen Sklaverei nachsieht, daß aber die Negerklaverei in den Ver. Staaten nach allen Beziehungen wider Gottes Gebote sei, daher ich ihn auf das Dringendste bat, die vorgetragenen Irrlehren, wodurch das Gewissen der Christen belastet und der Name der Lutherischen Kirche geschändet wird, im nächsten Hefen von *Lehre und Wehre* zu

Portion of an article which appeared in *Der Lutherische Herold*, Vol. 13, No. 14 (Nov. 15, 1863), published by Heinrich Ludwig, New York, showing Prof. Seyffarth's opposition to Walther's stand on slavery

he had been hailed as one of the greatest archaeologists and as a great scholar and prolific writer, after the Civil War he was pictured as having been morose and disgruntled and a very poor and unpopular writer while yet in Germany.³² Seyffarth and his scholarship were later attacked in a rather caustic and derogatory manner by men on the Seminary faculty.³³

³² *Der Lutheraner*, XX, p. 63.

³³ *Lehre und Wehre*, XIV, p. 169 ff.

In spite of Walther's personal views there were no serious threats to his safety or to the prestige of the Seminary until the end of this period. In 1865, when the oath of loyalty was demanded of all clergymen and other public figures by the new State Government, Walther once more had a scare, but it did not amount to much. The new pro-Northern State Government tried to eliminate Southern sympathizers from public offices. The sieve which was to sort out the chaff was an oath which men in public office were to take by a certain date under threat of imprisonment or fine or both, stating that they had never in word or deed said or done anything to hinder the cause of the Union or to aid or comfort its enemies. Walther, of course, could not unconditionally take this oath. Although he had not raised a hand to strike a blow against the Union or to aid its enemies, he had, nonetheless, at times said things which did not aid the cause of the Union. Walther was an extremely conscientious man and did not even consider taking a false oath; yet he feared imprisonment if he did not take the oath and thought seriously of moving the Seminary out of Missouri.³⁴ He wanted to move it to Addison, Ill., where the Synod maintained a normal school, which, in turn, was to be moved to St. Louis. The Missouri Synod clergy who lived in the Northern States had, apparently, been considerably more pro-Union than Walther, and the instructors at Addison, according to Walther, could easily have taken the Missouri oath of loyalty.³⁵ After several unsuccessful attempts to take the oath with reservations, Walther resigned himself to whatever fate should befall him. But, fortunately, the courts condemned the oath as unconstitutional since it created a crime *ex post facto*. Walther was considerably relieved.

In spite of the pro-Southern sentiments of Walther the Seminary was never threatened with violence after the Union forces had secured St. Louis, in spite of the fact that some of the Eastern Lutherans, members of the expressedly pro-Union General Synod, for a while accused the Seminary of flying a Confederate flag.³⁶ Rumor also had it that the Union forces had a field piece trained on the Seminary in case that institution should lend active support

³⁴ Fuerbringer: *Walthers Briefe*, I, pp. 227, 236; Walther to Schmidt, September 18, 1865. Walther wrote: "Ich bin gegenwaertig weder Pastor noch Professor, da ich den geforderten Loyaltatseid nicht leisten mag, ohne dessen Leistung ich bei Gefaengnisstrafe kein kirchliches Amt in Missouri verwalten darf."

³⁵ Fuerbringer: *Walthers Briefe*, I, p. 226 f.

³⁶ *Der Lutheraner*, XVI, p. 85.

to the Confederates. But such charges and rumors were most energetically denied by *Der Lutheraner*.³⁷

On account of the Civil War disturbances in and around St. Louis, and on account of Walther's attitude toward slavery, one would expect a decline in the prestige and work of the Seminary, or at least a reduction in the number of students. But this was not the case. Except for the temporary closing of the school for a few months in 1861, the War was practically excluded from the life of the Seminary, and the student body grew considerably during this period.

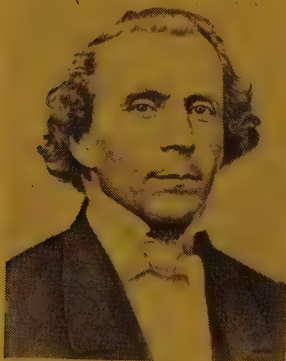
Various courses were taught in common for the students of both "practical" and "theoretical" departments. Four branches of theology were the accepted curriculum. These were historical theology, or the history of the Church and the history of doctrine; practical theology, or preaching, catechetics, and pastoral problems; exegetical theology, or the study of the Scriptures by reading and analyzing the original Hebrew and Greek; and systematic theology, or the study of Christian doctrine, differing from exegetical theology because instead of treating the books of the Bible in order, chapter by chapter and verse by verse, it consisted of a topical study of the chief points taught in the Scriptures. This branch of theology was usually taught by Walther. Of these four branches of theology, the first two were taught in common for both departments. The other two branches were taught more sketchily in the "practical" department because the Hebrew and Greek was much less emphasized there. Even if the student bodies were only half joined together in the same courses of study, they lived together in the same dormitories, and the union amounted practically to an amalgamation, although students were still classed as either "practical" or "theoretical." The faculties, at any rate, were essentially amalgamated, probably because they were so small.

Biewend, Seyffarth, and Walther had been the only men on the Seminary faculty. But Biewend had died, Seyffarth was on leave, and thus Walther was the only man on the Seminary faculty. Schick, Saxer, Lange, and Kleppisch of the preparatory department were, of course, transferred to Fort Wayne with that department. Professor August Craemer was the only man who came to St. Louis as the faculty of the "practical" Seminary. This set the number of professors in the amalgamated institution at only two, a number

³⁷ *Ibid.*

so small that it must have been impossible to do efficient work, although Craemer, like Walther, was a very capable and gifted man.

Because of Craemer's cosmopolitan background, somewhat like that of Biewend, it will be profitable to mention the more outstanding events of his life prior to his coming to St. Louis. He was born, at Kleinlangheim, Lower Franconia, on May 26, 1812, and attended the Academy at Wuerzburg.³⁸ In 1830 he matriculated at the University of Erlangen to study theology and philosophy. Many of the university students of Germany had become interested in politics and had organized *Burschenschaften*, clubs through which their political views were to be promulgated. Craemer was the head of the Erlangen students' club. But the emphasis which



Prof. F. A. Craemer

these societies placed on democratic institutions led the government to arrest a number of the leaders. Craemer was one, and thus his studies at Erlangen were terminated. When he was released from prison after a number of years, he saw that it would be futile to continue his theological studies, since nobody with a political charge against him could obtain a position in the State Church. In 1840, therefore, he enrolled at the University of Muenchen to study philosophy. The following year he took a position as a private

tutor in the house of Duke Carl von Einsiedel. After two years he resigned, went to England, and, on the strength of a recommendation from the Duke, became private tutor in the home of Lord Lovelace, the son-in-law of Lord Byron. However, Craemer's religious views clashed with those of Lord Lovelace, and, therefore, on the suggestion of Sir Henry Drummond, a member of Parliament, Craemer went to Oxford to establish himself there as a tutor, with the purpose of striving for the professorship of modern literature. But Craemer's religious views clashed here, too, this time with the Oxford Movement sponsored by Prof. E. Pusey.

In the meantime, Craemer had heard of Wyneken's *Appeal*

³⁸ F. Lochner: "Ehrengedaechtniss des seligen Herrn Friedrich August Craemer," in *Der Lutheraner*, XXXXVII, pp. 147—149, 155—157, 165—166, 173—174, 181—182, 190, 197—198, 203—205, XXXXVIII, pp. 3—5, 12—13, 27—28, 39 to 40, 48—49, 55—56, 70—72, 79—80, 85—86, is the only biography of Craemer.

and therefore offered his services to Loehe to serve in America. Loehe was looking for a man capable of taking over the leadership of his men in America, and Craemer seemed to have the qualifications, especially because he had mastered the English language. Since the first Loehe men to arrive in America had affiliated themselves with the Ohio Synod, and since some of them received their final training at the Columbus Seminary, Loehe thought of establishing Craemer at Columbus as the "Loehe" professor. But since the break with the Ohio Synod was imminent, Craemer was delegated to lead a missionary colony to Michigan, where mission work was to be done among the Indians.

Craemer and his colonists founded Frankenmuth, a settlement near Saginaw, Mich. Here an Indian mission was opened, at which Craemer worked indefatigably till 1850, when he took Biewend's place at the Fort Wayne Seminary. Here he worked for a little over a decade and then moved to St. Louis with his students. He served in St. Louis till 1874, when the "practical" department was separated from the St. Louis Seminary and moved to Springfield, Ill., where he served as professor and president of the institution till his death on May 3, 1891.

Craemer was no doubt well suited for guiding the policies of the "practical" department for so long a time, since he believed that enthusiasm for the work of the ministry was more important than a great amount of intellectual gifts. He was an ultraconservative, as is shown by his refusal to use oil lamps when they came on the market to replace candles.

When the two Seminaries were united in St. Louis, the Norwegians terminated their professorship at the institution.³⁹ They started their own preparatory school in Decorah, Iowa, and paid the Missouri Synod \$1,000 annually to have their men receive their theological training in St. Louis. Craemer studied Norwegian so as to enable him to teach those Norwegians who did not know enough German to take part in the regular classes. The Synod instructed the board of control of the Seminary to give a part of the Norwegian tuition money to Craemer, although he resisted the generosity.

But the faculty was seriously understaffed, in spite of the tremendous abilities of Walther and Craemer. Therefore the Rev. Ernst August Brauer, born April 19, 1819, in Northeim,

³⁹ *Synodal-Bericht*, 1863, p. 72.

Hannover, was called to teach at the Seminary.⁴⁰ He had studied theology at Goettingen University and had taken graduate work at Berlin. Because he could not obtain a position in Germany at that time, he volunteered to serve in America under Loehe's program. After arriving in America late in 1847, he took a pastorate in Addison, Ill. In 1857 he transferred to Pittsburgh. He produced a considerable number of articles for the Missouri Synod periodicals and soon became known as an able theologian. In the fall of 1862 he was called to the Seminary, but could not start teaching till May, 1863. He was considered an excellent lecturer and is said to have been well liked by the students. He taught logic, introduction to the books of the Bible, and exegesis.⁴¹ But he did not serve at the Seminary even a decade, for in 1872 he took over the pastorate of Trinity Church in St. Louis. Wyneken had previously resigned this charge, and G. Schaller had then taken over. But in 1872 Schaller took one of the newly created professorships at the Seminary, and Brauer took over Trinity.

Even though Walther, Craemer, and Brauer taught in the two departments of the Seminary, there was no regular instructor for the preparatory department of the "practical" division of the Seminary. It seems that at first Craemer took care of all this teaching. In the synodical convention of 1863 it was resolved to get a full-time man as instructor of the proseminary division of the "practical" department.⁴² The electoral college nominated Georg Andreas Witte of Baltimore and Emil Schultz of Bay City, Mich.⁴³ Witte was elected, but declined.⁴⁴ H. Baumstark and R. Lange were then nominated, and the former was elected. Baumstark entered upon his duties in 1865. He had originally come from Germany, where he had done some university work. He finished his formal education at Concordia Seminary and after graduation accepted the pastorate of St. John's Congregation at Quincy, Ill.⁴⁵ In 1863 he took charge of the congregation in Aurora, Ill.⁴⁶ During the time that Baumstark was instructor in the Proseminary

⁴⁰ Albert Brauer: *Lebensbild des weiland ehrwuerdigen Pastor Ernst August Brauer*, St. Louis, 1898.

⁴¹ *Synodal-Bericht*, 1869, p. 71.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁴³ *Der Lutheraner*, XX, p. 47.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁴⁵ *Synodal-Bericht, Westlichen Distrikts*, 1862, p. 11.

⁴⁶ *Synodal-Bericht*, 1863, p. 26.

in St. Louis, he wrote the first parts of his church history.⁴⁷ The first volume was published in 1867. According to the synodical records, the second was published in 1869,⁴⁸ although no copies of it seem to be extant. In the first volume Baumstark ignored the revised chronology of Roman history which Seyffarth had laboriously worked out on the basis of astronomical calculations. This resulted in criticism from Seyffarth and a very caustic reply from Baumstark.⁴⁹ After this, Seyffarth was definitely *persona non grata* in synodical circles. But Baumstark himself did not have many more days of grace after this, for he was soon to be known as Baumstark the Apostate, for he renounced Lutheranism and en-



Rev. E. A. Brauer



Rev. Fr. Brunn

tered the Roman Catholic Church. He declared his change of conviction to the board of control of the Seminary and was officially removed from office on June 4, 1869. This was the first time that the power of deposition had been exercised by the board of control. The Synod unhesitatingly supported this action.⁵⁰

The fact that during the Civil War period the student body at the Seminary increased considerably was probably due not to the virility of the Missouri Synod, but is largely to be credited to a close friend of the Missouri Synod in Germany, Rev. Fr. Brunn of Nassau, who made an attempt in 1860 to get boys in Germany who would be willing to serve in the ministry in America. Walther

⁴⁷ H. M. Baumstark: *Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche*, St. Louis, 1867.

⁴⁸ *Synodal-Bericht*, 1869, p. 34.

⁴⁹ *Lehre und Wehre*, XIV, p. 169 f.

⁵⁰ *Synodal-Bericht*, 1869, p. 85, reproduces the official document of deposition, signed by the board of control.

had been in Germany early in 1860 in an attempt to get somebody to establish a school from which the students would be sent to the St. Louis Seminary.⁵¹ Brunn therefore agreed to make an attempt to establish such a proseminary in Germany. The Synod heartily endorsed this plan, since men sent by Loehe had been declining in numbers in the early 1850's and had completely ceased to come after 1854. The Synod volunteered to support Brunn's project financially as much as was possible. Brunn expected to enroll his first students in the spring of 1860.⁵²

He and some of his friends solicited men and money in Germany and on April 12, 1860, opened his school with seven students.⁵³ He housed and fed the students in his own home. By fall of that year two more had enrolled.⁵⁴ He had also contacted several parochial school teachers and won them for the work in America. He traveled extensively throughout Germany in behalf of his campaign to raise the necessary funds for supporting the students under his roof and for paying their transportation to America as soon as they would be ready to go.⁵⁵ By the end of September, 1862, a group of ten students arrived in St. Louis from Brunn's school.⁵⁶ Since there were 74 students at Concordia Seminary at this time, including the ten who had just arrived from Germany, Brunn's group constituted almost one seventh. It seems that at least half of these ten were able to enter the Seminary department when they arrived in St. Louis, whereas the other half had to do some work in the Proseminary of the "practical" department first.

During the school year 1862-63, Brunn again had eight students, all of whom he intended to send to St. Louis in the summer of 1863.⁵⁷ They seem to have attended his school for about two years before they were sent.⁵⁸ Seven parochial school teachers had also volunteered for work in America,⁵⁹ but only one was ready to go in 1863. Many of the men who applied for admission to Brunn's school were in the middle twenties, and, since some of them were considered very gifted, Brunn intended to keep the more gifted

⁵¹ Fuerbringer: *Walters Briefe*, I, p. 132; *Synodal-Bericht*, 1860, p. 79.

⁵² *Der Lutheraner*, XVII, p. 103.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 172. The C. H. I. archives contain a collection of Brunn papers, mostly letters in which he informed his American friends on the progress of his school. The most important information from Brunn was always published in *Der Lutheraner*. Since information on Brunn's school has never been compiled, all the references from *Der Lutheraner* will be given in the following footnotes.

⁵⁴ *Der Lutheraner*, XVIII, p. 68.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 205, XIX, p. 4.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

ones only one year so that he would be able to get more men to America, especially since there were about twice as many on his waiting list as he had room for at one time. The capacity of his school was only nine.⁶⁰ In 1864 he again sent nine students to St. Louis,⁶¹ besides eleven teachers to serve in the parochial schools of the Missouri Synod.⁶²

In 1864 he began to plan increasing the capacity of his institution. His support from friends in Germany and from the Missouri Synod enabled him to get an assistant, Pastor Kollmann, to buy land for a new building and, early in 1865, to start erecting it.⁶³ Kollmann began teaching in October, 1864, and even before the new building was begun, they were able to take in twelve students at one time.⁶⁴ In 1865 Brunn again sent nine students to St. Louis.⁶⁵ That same year his program was expanded to such an extent that he could train thirty men at one time. The real effects, however, of this enlarged "feeder" school for Concordia were not to be felt till after 1865. But in spite of this, Brunn's work, even before 1865, was of very great importance for Concordia Seminary, for it supplied a considerable percentage of the students in the Seminary. This helped to retain the German tradition at the Seminary and also enabled the Synod to get more men into the field who could provide for the spiritual needs of the numerous German immigrants who were now coming to this country in ever-increasing numbers, reaching the peak in the 1880's. During the years 1861 to 1865, therefore, the Seminary, having safely gotten through its years of infancy from 1839 to 1849, and also through the years 1850—1860, during which time the policy of the institution was formed and crystallized, was now in that period in which it rallied its forces and energies. This additional development enabled it later to supply hundreds, almost thousands of pastors to the endless stream of German immigrants coming into this country. The virility of the Seminary as an institution was no doubt the greatest single factor which contributed to the tremendous growth of the Missouri Synod. The Seminary, although still supported by freewill donations, developed the stamina and capacity during this period to prepare pastors above and beyond those needed in the synodical circles, to replace those who had to retire. There were, after this period, always a considerable number of Seminary graduates who were not urgently needed in the immediate synodical

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, XX, p. 160

⁶³ *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 77.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

circles and who therefore could be sent out to work in the new German settlements. They organized new congregations which then joined the Synod, thus offering more support to the Seminary and other synodical institutions, which in turn increased the productivity of the Seminary and permitted other graduates to go out and organize new congregations for the Synod.

Johann Andreas August Grabau

By JOHANN A. GRABAU *

PART II

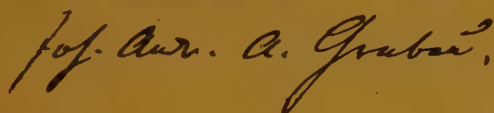
1. The First Years in America

It is not my purpose to write a history of the emigration of our congregations, but only a brief biography of my sainted father. Nevertheless, since his course of life was so intimately associated with the history of our congregations and particularly with their emigration, I cannot skip over certain events which will be necessary for a better understanding of later events which took place in Buffalo. Pastor E. F. L. [*sic*] Krause, who also was persecuted because of his confession of the Lutheran doctrine, had determined to emigrate with his congregation sooner than Pastor Grabau and his congregations. Pastor Krause sailed alone for America during the winter of 1838—39, in order to secure cheap transportation for his congregation and to be able personally to see the country and to choose and recommend a favorable location for the settlement of the congregation. They planned to follow in the spring of 1839. When the congregation arrived in Hamburg to sail for America in March of the same year, they changed their mind and wanted to go to Australia. They negotiated through their deputy with Mr. Angas, president of an Australian mercantile company, for free passage to Australia; but this was denied them. Then they turned their attention once more to America and contacted Pastor Grabau's congregation. In the meanwhile Mr. Angas had collected moneys for this Silesian congregation (800 Thaler) and now declared that he would transport them to Australia provided the wealthier members bore a part of the cost. But these were not so inclined. Pastor Grabau and his congrega-

* Translated by E. M. Biegener. Continued from Volume XXIV, July, 1951.

tion declared they would accept these people provided they would make a satisfactory settlement with Mr. Angas. To this they agreed without going into the details of the settlement. The wealthier ones soon sailed for America and left their poor with Pastor Grabau's congregation. Mr. Angas deplored such a treatment of these people, but nevertheless sent the 800 Thaler collected for the poor that they might go along to America.

After the first four vessels arrived in New York on the 4th and 10th of September, they waited for the arrival of the fifth ship, which was to bring the rest of the congregation and Pastor Grabau. Since the ship was delayed for some time and they now began to fear that it might have been wrecked, the greater part of the congregation left for Buffalo, while ten to fourteen families remained in New York. Some forty families, mostly Pomeranians, continued beyond Buffalo to go to Wisconsin with Mr. von Rohr. Others sought and found work on the Genessee Canal. A few



Signature of Johann Andreas A. Grabau, taken from a letter addressed to Pastor Adolph Kindermann, dated August 5, 1847

days after the departure of the families to Wisconsin, Pastor Grabau arrived at Buffalo. That brought great joy to the whole congregation. Their first concern was now to establish Lutheran services and a Lutheran school. In a hall on Main Street which Pastor Krause already occupied with his newly gathered small congregation, the recent arrivals assembled for their first service on October 5. Soon the opportunity presented itself to rent an old church building, which was joyfully accepted because it provided more room. Not long thereafter, however, the church burned down and with it a part of the valuable library which they had brought with them. Another place was found on S. Division Street; but later somewhat larger quarters were located on Main Street. However, neither provided sufficient room for the large congregation. Moreover, they were not in a position to undertake a building project because their means were nearly exhausted through the emigration. In their trouble they called diligently upon the Lord for help, who brought them aid. It so happened that Pastor Grabau was accosted on the street one evening by a man who asked him,

"Are you Pastor Grabau?" Upon an affirmative answer, the man handed him a letter. This letter was from Hull in England. The congregation, which had embarked from Liverpool by way of Hull, had aroused the sympathy of a number of goodhearted persons who had inquired concerning the reason of the emigration. These people had raised a collection for the poor of the congregation which amounted to three hundred Thaler and forwarded it to Pastor Grabau in Buffalo. In a congregation meeting which soon met, the poor members declared that since they had work and an income and were not in need of the money, it should be used to begin with the building of a church. The entire congregation thanked God that He had so graciously heard their prayers and wrought help. Hereupon the corner lot on Goodell and Maple Streets was purchased, and the building of Trinity Church, which still remains to this day, was begun. The congregation had incorporated itself as *Alt-Lutherische Kirche* already on the 2d of December. In March, 1840, the building of the church began, and on Pentecost Sunday of the same year the first divine service was held. On the same day their persecutor, King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia, died.

Two emigrant schoolteachers, Zion and Dreier, Pomeranians, first taught in an old frame house on Court Street; then on Sycamore Street; and later in the basement of the new church. Soon a third teacher had to be engaged because of the increased enrollment. In 1840 a congregation in Town Eden, Erie Co., near Buffalo, and in November of the same year another in Canada, about sixteen miles distant, united with the Buffalo congregation. Thus Pastor Grabau served the congregation in Buffalo, the one on the Genesee Canal, the one in Eden, and the one in Canada. This was unusual, for the work was strenuous and fatiguing, especially since at that time the roads were new and often very bad. These distances had to be made on springless freight wagons drawn by a yoke of oxen, or very often on a wagon with racks. This service Grabau rendered cheerfully and joyfully to honor Jesus and to serve His Church. He feared no labor nor danger in order that he might faithfully fulfill the office entrusted to him.

Satan had tried to destroy the Church in Germany through persecution by the government; now it was more exasperating to him since this congregation had found a place of refuge here in America where they might serve their God in tranquillity and peace free of a persecuting government. That is why Satan now

assaulted the congregation in other ways far more dangerous, namely, through the creating of factions within the congregation at the instigation of haughty and self-interested people.

Upon arrival in America, Pastor Grabau and the church council admonished the afore-mentioned Silesians to come to terms with Mr. Angas in some just way even if it were only by a friendly letter of apology. This, however, they refused to do. They began to stay away from church, defaming and slandering both Pastor Grabau and the church. For this they were admonished and eventually cited to appear before the congregation. However, only two appeared, and these did not accept the admonition. In addition, these people declared the old Lutheran *Dresden Catechism*, which was being used in school, to be false, coarsely slandering the same. They were joined by the two schoolteachers, Zion and Dreier, who did the same before the children. For this offense they were admonished and finally removed from office, as the admonition failed. This so-called Roggenbuck * faction finally had to be excommunicated from the Christian congregation. This notice they received in writing. Hereupon they came together on a certain day in an open place near the church and burned the notification of their excommunication, which they termed a papal bull, together with the *Dresden Catechism* and Pastor Grabau's name. After this act — mimicking the blessed Luther in his public burning of the papal bull, here, however, in a sinful, seditious act — they chose out of their midst a certain Anercy † to be their pastor, whom they soon deposed. Thus they mocked and scoffed until in 1841, when one of the Saxon preachers from Missouri, Buerger by name, became their advocate and priest.‡

About this time there also arose a faction in Eden — 1847 and 1848. (For a full account of this see Second Buffalo Synodical

* ED. NOTE: Johann Roggenbuck claimed that the Dresden Catechism taught falsely concerning the Person of Christ. Roggenbuck, probably a Pomeranian, later settled in Milwaukee.

† ED. NOTE: Spelling of this name is doubtful, original spelling is as above.

‡ This rabble priest, Buerger, wrote a book in which he tried to justify himself and this faction — falsely belying and slandering Pastor Grabau in a most deceitful manner. In the Second Synodical Letter of the Buffalo Synod the following may be read, p. 48: "Concerning this libel by Buerger one may rightly say what was once said by a prominent theologian of the Lutheran Church concerning Gottfried Arnold's *Unpartheiischer Kirchen-und Ketzer-Historie*: 'The entire book is composed of nothing but lies, and where the man could snap up anything against some honest, upright, and courageous confessor of the Evangelical truth, or could excuse the worst knave, the most damnable heretic, the most pernicious church enemy, he set it forth as the undeniable truth in his book of slanders.'" E. Neumeister's geistl. Bibliothek.

Letter, pp. 59—70.) Mr. Buerger also took this faction under his wing; and both the Buffalo and the Eden faction joined with him the so-called Missouri Synod, organized in Chicago in 1847. Before this, their pastors had already supported and defended other factions in Wisconsin, yes, sent them preachers and thereby proved themselves to be destroyers, persecutors, and enemies of the Church, in which sin they continue to this very day.

2. The Beginning of the Doctrinal Controversy with the Missouri Synod

In 1840, due to a preacher shortage, disorders occurred here and there in the ministry. Certain individual laymen undertook to officiate contrary to the 14th Article of the Augsburg Confession. Pastor Grabau took occasion to warn in a pastoral letter (*Hirtenbrief*) against such officiating without a call. He also pointed out the necessity of a proper call, and what was required to explain the Word of God and the Symbols of the Church.

Such a pastoral letter Grabau also sent to the Saxon pastors in Missouri in order to prepare for a Christian fellowship with them. But as they criticized the same in a review and through their published constitution, teachings, and theses, Pastor Grabau found it necessary to reject them as contrary to the Word of God. Consequently there began the controversy which has now existed for thirty-nine years between the Buffalo and Missouri Synods because the Missouri preachers continued to defend their views and acted accordingly by accepting excommunicated members and organizing opposition congregations. In the First Synodical Letter of 1845 the following may be read concerning this matter: "You know that since 1840 false spirits arose in our own congregations who in a foolish and a selfish zeal falsified the pure doctrine of the Church concerning the person and states of Christ, the union of His two natures, the Law and the Gospel, etc., and considered their own opinions more highly. Now, because their foul controversy was directed particularly against the clergy, they became embittered especially against them and thereupon attacked the holy office of the ministry contrary to the teaching of the 14th Article of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, according to which no one shall teach publicly in the Church nor administer the Sacraments without a rightful call. There arose among them heads of factions who preached, baptized, absolved, married, administered the Sacrament, without a rightful call and thereby embittered them-

selves against the Church. At that time one of our pastors testified against this in a devout Christian exhortation or a pastoral letter, which brought many a blessing to many souls who received it as a faithful warning, although it was done in haste and in much weakness. Thereby the congregations were preserved on the old churchly path and kept from dangerous innovations. On the other hand, many souls who already were given to pietistic, false teachings and fanaticisms mocked at this letter, proclaimed it to be a new symbol and persisted in their separation from the church. Yet they never intimated what they had against the pastoral letter. . . . Afterwards they were strengthened by those who neither rightly understood our church conditions at the time nor gave them consideration, who believed to have discovered in the pastoral letter that Christian liberty and the Christian priesthood were not sufficiently emphasized, while the doctrine of the holy ministry and the esteem of the old Lutheran church ordinances were overemphasized. Already in Prussia we were told that we overemphasized the doctrine of the Lord's Supper and thereby detracted from the other doctrines. It probably never develops otherwise in defending a certain matter. . . . Of course that pastoral letter is of no more consequence to our congregations and for us, since it was to serve only at the time for the specified conditions to emphasize what was necessary, and has attained its required purpose for some time, namely, to prevent confusion and factions. Notwithstanding, the ringleaders have made it together with the old *Dresden Catechism* of 1683, which has been used in our schools since 1836, their beautiful apple of discord. In 1840 we also sent with brotherly confidence a copy of this pastoral letter to the Lutheran preachers in Missouri, who had separated at the time from Stephan, seeking Christian fellowship which we did not achieve with them in Germany. Contrary to our expectation and without our will we thereupon were placed in sharp opposition to them, partly with regard to the rightful call to the holy ministry in general, and partly and especially concerning the Christian ordination of prospective servants of the Church [*angehender Kirchendiener*]. We contend, namely, that according to the Word of God: 2 Tim. 2:2; 1 Tim. 5:22; Acts 1:23-26; 14:23; Titus 1:5; 1 Peter 5:1-2 — I. examination for qualification, II. election by the congregation, III. ordination of the candidate all belong to the Church, and indeed all three parts without any factional separation and wanton schism from the orthodox Church. We consider these three ele-

ments as necessary for a rightful call according to divine order and an orderly manner. Contrariwise, the Missouri preachers consider necessary only the examination on the part of the congregation ('Examine the spirits'; 1 John 5:1) and are not concerned whether the calling congregation is a part of the Church or a faction. In connection with ordination they claim that 2 Tim. 2:2 is a command to Timothy and not to the Church. Ordination has therefore no permanent Apostolic command, but is merely commanded for the time, similar to the command to the heathen to abstain from blood (Acts 15). These opinions they already held in their new church regulation of 1839, which they imparted to us. We had to cut short our controversy with them because they no longer behaved like honorable colleagues towards our pastors, sending faction preachers [*Rottenprediger*] to the rebellious slanderers and thus publicly allying themselves with our church enemies. Consequently we sent them another letter as conciliatory as possible, still addressing them as brethren, asking them to change their practice; but received an almost mocking reply. It is certainly more advisable to bear mockery than to answer them again."

During this controversy of Pastor Grabau with the Saxon pastors in Missouri, and also in the later one in which Missouri pastors more and more usurped pastorates belonging to others, in which it became necessary for our Synod to take part, it became more and more evident that these preachers were going from one extreme to the other. They had left the fanaticism of Stephan when their eyes were opened, and they recognized him as a false prophet and a deceiver. When they left the Union [of Germany] with Stephan, who had declared himself infallible, they had to be first ordained by him again (as he himself demanded) and declare that they alone constituted the true Lutheran Church. In their present extreme every Christian was said to have the right to administer the office because by virtue of his Baptism he has become a priest. Yet he could not usurp this right over others without interfering with theirs. Therefore he must first be called by the congregation. Every cobbler apprentice and every cheesemonger could administer the Holy Supper (Professor Walther's expression at the Buffalo Colloquy). For a proper call only the congregation's election was necessary. Ordination was not of divine origin and therefore was not absolutely necessary! When a congregation took an unlearned, unprepared, and untried man as their preacher, it was not a misconduct, but merely a blunder. (Review of the *Pas-*

toral Letter, page 31.) The congregation, as possessor of the office, had all rights pertaining to the Church, but, as prescribed by God, must *transfer it to one so as to exercise it in the common interest of all*. [Italics in the original.] (Cf. Walther's theses in *Kirche und Amt*.) Therefore the ministerial office consists in this, that "the rights of the spiritual priesthood be exercised publicly by a representation of common interests." Cf. *Buffalo Colloquy*, p. 12.

Church discipline belongs to the congregation in conjunction with the pastor, who administers the Office of the Keys, etc, but not without the congregation, to whom particularly belongs the final decision in disputed cases. (According to Missouri practice: by vote.) "The decision in matters of conscience belongs to the congregation when the application of the Word of God in certain cases and actions is doubtful" !!! (Cf. *Missouri Church Regulations*, 1839.)

Later on other false doctrines came to light, as the doctrine of the Church: that the same was essentially only invisible; that the visible assembly gathered about the Word of God and the Sacrament was the Church only in an improper sense; that all sects belong to the figurative visible Church because of the believers in their midst, and therefore, belong in the concept of the word "Church" as used in the Third Article of the Apostles' Creed. (Cf. Walther, *Kirche und Amt* and *Buffalo Colloquy*, pp. 4 ff.) Accordingly three kinds of churches: 1. one invisible proper Church, 2. one visible improper true Church (the Lutheran Church), and 3. one improper visible Church including all sects. This synod has also confessed a false doctrine of predestination by making assertions running counter to the Word of God and the Confessions of the Lutheran Church, so that they are essentially in perfect harmony with the Calvinistic predestinarians. (Cf. *Lehre und Wehre*, XVIII, pp. 196 and 198; also Synodical Report of the Northern District, 1868, and Walther's *Postille*, Septuagesima Sunday.)

The blessed Pastor Grabau could not remain quiet to such false doctrines and Church-destroying principles with which they invaded our congregations, creating confusion and factions, much less agree with them, and he felt himself in conscience bound to testify and warn against them. Because of this he naturally had to endure much hatred, mockery, and slander, but his heart was founded, by the grace of God, in the evangelical truth, so that nothing, neither honor nor shame and contempt, could deter him;

neither the fear of men nor their favors could have induced him to deny it. Determinedly and undauntedly he confessed and defended the truth against everyone. Faithfully and steadfastly he continued therein until his death.*

(To be continued)

The Life and Work of Henry C. Schwan As Pastor and Missionary

EVERETTE W. MEIER †

Chapter I

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

In Germany

Dr. H. C. Schwan was born on April 5, 1819, in Horneburg, Hanover, Germany.¹ He was the oldest of the four children² of the Rev. G. H. C. Schwan and his wife Charlotte, nee Wyneken, a sister of the Rev. F. C. D. Wyneken of St. Louis.³ They named their first-born Heinrich Christian. Later on, others were to know him in a foreign country by the more affectionate name "der allgemeine Heinrich."⁴

* ANNOTATION.—His doctrinal stand against Missouri is contained in the synodical publications of the Buffalo Synod and particularly in his booklet: *The Spirit of Missouri and the Doctrine of the Lutheran Church*. The latter pamphlet may be procured for ten cents from Teacher A. Stiemke, 52 Maple Street, Buffalo, N. Y.

† Professor Meier presented this study as a thesis to the faculty of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, June, 1950. Professor Meier is now instructor at St. John's College, Winfield, Kans.

¹ W. G. Polack, "Henry Christian Schwan, D.D. (1819—1905)," *Walther League Messenger*, XXXI (October, 1922), 86.

² Mrs. Emma Kuechle, youngest child of H. C. Schwan, supplied the writer with this information in an interview on July 7, 1950. At that time Mrs. Kuechle was eighty years of age but still quite active both mentally and physically. Mrs. Kuechle pointed out that her grandfather G. H. C. Schwan had two more sons by a second marriage after Charlotte had passed away. One of these half brothers of Heinrich, viz., Theodore Schwan, was a general in the United States Army and is buried in Arlington Cemetery, Washington, D. C.

³ *Die Abendschule*, LI (June 8, 1905), 712.

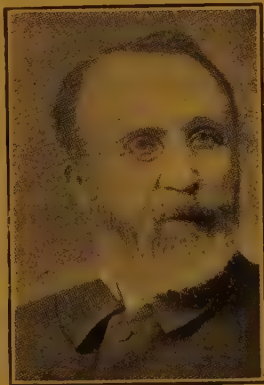
⁴ L. Fuerbringer, *80 Eventful Years* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1944), p. 239.

NOTE: The phrase "der allgemeine Heinrich" is an untranslatable pun. The usual signification of "allgemein" is "common" or "everyday." This meaning is very applicable to Schwan, for he was a common man, a man of and for the people. In the Missouri Synod, the word "allgemein" has a second connotation. The President of this body was known as "der allgemeine Praeses"—President of the general body. Inasmuch as Schwan was President of this body for twenty-one years, the term "allgemein" applied to him also in this sense.

Heinrich received his first instruction from his parents, followed by elementary education in the village grammar school. His father supplemented this with some private coaching in the ancient languages and with religious instruction in preparation for his confirmation as well.⁵

Henry, as we would call him in America today, next attended the college in Stade, graduating with highest honors in 1837.⁶ In November of that same year he enrolled as a student of theology at the University of Goettingen,⁷ the same school which Henry Melchior Muehlenberg, father of American Lutheranism, had attended almost a century earlier.⁸

During the previous month of October, Goettingen University had celebrated its one hundredth anniversary. It was at the peak of its influence at that time. But when seven of its professors felt constrained to oppose the rescinding of its 1833 constitution, they were deposed by the nobility and landowners. Consequently a large number of students left "the city of the muses" along with their professors. Among these was Schwan, who now went to Jena University.⁹ Professor L. Fuerbringer, a later contemporary of Schwan, quotes him as saying that while at Jena he had contact with the famous, although rationalistic, church historian Carl von Hase. Although impressed by von Hase's erudition, Schwan was not at all pleased by his rationalism.¹⁰



Dr. H. C. Schwan

In July, 1842, Schwan finished his theological studies. Dr. Fr. Koester administered the final examination and "with great pleasure" granted him the right to preach. For the time being Henry made but little use of this privilege, since he accepted a position as private tutor in Dorum, a small Hanoverian village. He served

⁵ Polack, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁶ *Die Abendschule*, *op. cit.*, p. 712.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XL (October 26, 1893), 185.

⁸ J. L. Neve, *History of the Lutheran Church in America* (Burlington, Iowa: Lutheran Literary Board, 1934), p. 55.

⁹ *Die Abendschule*, XL (October 26, 1893), 185.

¹⁰ Fuerbringer, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

in this capacity until his ordination on September 13, 1843, when he was commissioned as missionary to Brazil.¹¹

Dr. William Sihler, one of the "fathers" of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, relates that before he came to America, he met Schwan in the home of a certain Rev. Rupert in Leesum, a Hanoverian village. Sihler received a very good impression of the young man who was about to sail for Brazil. "Already at that time," says Sihler, "he had an earnest Lutheran bent."¹²

In South America

Schwan's youngest daughter tells us that when her father graduated from Jena, it was his desire to come to America as missionary.¹³ While waiting for his uncle F. C. D. Wyneken to arrange for a call, he tutored for a year. Then, through the influence of a physician-friend in South America, he was called to Brazil as missionary and tutor for a number of German settlers who were otherwise dependent on Catholics for both religion and education. He arrived in Bahia, Brazil, toward the end of 1843. There he got in touch with two Episcopalian ministers, had several services in their church, confirmed a young man, and gave the Lord's Supper to some ten persons. Then he went to Leopoldina in February, 1844. According to Prof. L. Fuerbringer, Leopoldina was a settlement in the neighborhood of Caravellas, in the province of Bahia.¹⁴

On April 4, 1849, Schwan married Emma Matilda Edmunds Blum, daughter of a retired Hessian physician and plantation owner in Bahia. According to their youngest daughter, Mrs. Emma Kuechle, Dr. Blum had retired from practice and bought the plantation to keep his son occupied.

In America

After six years in Brazil, Schwan's wish to work in America was fulfilled. His uncle F. C. D. Wyneken finally wrote, saying that the time was ripe and the need great. So the Schwans came to the United States in 1850 to help serve the increasingly large number of Germans who were migrating to America. When they reached this country, they sailed up the Mississippi River by boat, completing

¹¹ *Die Abendschule*, XL (October 26, 1893), 185.

¹² William Sihler, *Lebenslauf von Dr. W. Sihler* (New York: Lutherischer Verlags-Verein, 1880), I, 157.

¹³ Mrs. Emma Kuechle, interviewed July 7, 1950.

¹⁴ Fuerbringer, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

the trip to St. Louis in about three weeks.¹⁵ Pastor Schwan's first charge in America was a small country congregation at Neu-Bielefeld (now Black Jack), St. Louis County, Mo. Here he was installed September 15, 1850, by the President of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States,¹⁶ the Rev. C. F. W. Walther. Pastors Wyneken (Schwan's uncle, then stationed at Trinity Congregation in St. Louis) and Mueller (who had served the Neu-Bielefeld congregation during a vacancy) assisted in the ceremonies.¹⁷ During this rather short pastorate, which lasted a little less than a year, Schwan's first son, Paul, was born in the primitive log cabin which served as their home.¹⁸

From the moment he began his work in the United States, Schwan took an active part in the affairs of the Church which he was to serve as President for twenty-one years later on. The Synodical Report of 1850 contains the notation that "Pastor Schwan at Neu-Bielefeld near St. Louis" was accepted as an advisory member of Synod.¹⁹ Since his congregation was not yet a member of the Missouri Synod, Schwan could not, according to the constitution of that body, hold full voting membership.²⁰

Although this first charge was of short duration, the congregation learned to love its kindly and affable pastor. When he received a call to Zion Church in Cleveland, Ohio, some ten months after beginning his work in Neu-Bielefeld, Schwan with a heavy heart followed what he considered the Lord's calling. But it took two outside pastors to convince the people of Neu-Bielefeld that it was their duty to grant their pastor a peaceful dismissal.²¹

Pastor Schwan assumed his new duties in Cleveland during

¹⁵ Mrs. Emma Kuechle.

¹⁶ This rather cumbersome name was recently shortened to: The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. For the sake of brevity we shall hereafter refer to this church body by the name Missouri Synod.

¹⁷ *Synodal-Bericht der deutschen Ev.-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, u. a. Staaten* (St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, etc., 1850), p. 122. NOTE: These Synodical Reports will be cited time and again. We shall in future refer to them by the term *Synodal-Bericht*.

¹⁸ . . . "Veterans of the Ministry, Paul F. H. Schwan," *The Lutheran Witness*, LI (August 16, 1932), 294.

¹⁹ *Synodal-Bericht*, 1850, p. 125.

²⁰ *Handbook of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1949), p. 4.

²¹ H. C. Schwan, "Erinnerungen eines alten Buschpastors," *Der Lutheraner*, LIII (November 16, 1897), 198.

the month of August, 1851,²² and continued to serve this church for the next thirty years.²³ Because the Missouri Synod had grown so rapidly and the President's duties likewise had increased tremendously, Synod in 1881 resolved that its President should henceforth no longer hold a full pastorate.²⁴ On May 30, 1881, therefore, President Schwan resigned as pastor of Zion Congregation; but upon the congregation's request he continued to serve it till 1899 as assistant pastor.²⁵

As previously stated, Pastor Schwan was active in the work of Synod from the time he arrived in America. One of the first things he did upon his arrival in Cleveland was to have his congregation join the Missouri Synod as a member. In this way he also received full voting membership in 1852.²⁶

His abilities as a leader and a clear thinker were quickly recognized by fellow pastors and laymen of the Synod. Already in 1854 he was elected Vice-President of the Central District,²⁷ continuing in this capacity until 1857, when he was elected Vice-President of Synod.²⁸ After completing the three-year term as Vice-President of Synod, his gifts as a moderator²⁹ received recognition in eighteen years of continuous service (1860—1878) as President of the Central District of the Missouri Synod.³⁰

By 1878 Dr. C. F. W. Walther's tasks as professor and president of Concordia Theological Seminary in St. Louis had become so great and his position as editor of *Der Lutheraner* (official publication of the Missouri Synod) demanded so much of his time that he was forced to resign his position as President of Synod.

²² *Festbuechlein zum 75-jaebrigen Jubilaem der Ev. Luth. Zionsgemeinde* (n. p., 1893), p. 4. Archives Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Mo.

NOTE: We shall in future abbreviate this title as *Festbuechlein*.

According to the *Minutes* of Zion Congregation in Cleveland (July 2, 1876), he delivered his first sermon on August 31, 1851.

²³ *Synodal-Bericht*, 1884, p. 29.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1881, p. 68.

²⁵ *Minutes of Zion Congregation, Cleveland, Ohio*, May 30 and December 5, 1881. Hereafter we shall refer to this source as *Minutes*.

²⁶ *Synodal-Bericht*, 1852, p. 194.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1854, p. 293.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1857, p. 373.

²⁹ Dr. Edmund Seuel, a close friend of Dr. Schwan in his later years, told the writer in an interview on October 21, 1949: "Schwan was an excellent moderator, but not a discussion leader. That was Dr. Walther's special talent. Schwan had a wonderful gift for settling disputes between individuals and congregations. I may compare him to Solomon, who passed that sage bit of judgment when two mothers came to him to decide who should have the child."

³⁰ *Synodal-Bericht*, 1860, p. 85. Also the succeeding yearbooks, through 1878.

Synod accepted Walther's resignation and elected as his successor Pastor Schwan, who had taken over the chair while Dr. Walther made his request.³¹ Despite Schwan's modesty and repeated requests to be relieved of this office, he was reelected President of Synod for the next seven terms, covering the period from 1878 to 1899, perhaps the most controversial period of the Missouri Synod's history.³²

In addition to more than half a century of service in the four capacities just mentioned, Schwan also served in a host of other offices and on numerous committees. To mention only the more significant of these: Board of Control for Fort Wayne College 1854—1857 and 1860—1878;³³ Board of Examiners (Pruefungskommission) for Fort Wayne College from 1860 to 1878;³⁴ a special two-man committee appointed to settle a rather bitter dispute that had arisen in a Baltimore, Md., congregation in connection with the language question.³⁵ He participated in the Lutheran Free Conferences of 1856—1859, serving as secretary for all but the 1858 session.³⁶ He represented his Synod in the Buffalo Colloquy of 1866.³⁷ When the Synodical Conference came into being in 1872, Schwan was one of the members representing the Missouri Synod,³⁸ and in 1875 he served as Vice-President of this organization.³⁹ A joint seminary for all members of this conference was proposed in 1878. Schwan served on the committee which was to study the possibility and the necessary steps for such a move.⁴⁰

Although not a prolific writer, Schwan did make several notable contributions to the literature of his Church. The first of these is a set of "32 Theses Against Unevangelical Practice," presented to the Central District in 1862. These theses are recognized to this day by the Missouri Synod as the official statement of its posi-

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1878, p. 50.

³² *Ibid.*, 1878—1899, *passim*.

³³ *Synodal-Bericht des Mittleren Distrikts der Ev. Luth. Synode, etc.*, 1854 to 1878 (St. Louis: Druckerei des Concordia-Verlags), *passim*.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

³⁵ *Minutes*, November 16, 1857.

³⁶ "Auszug aus den Verhandlungen der freien ev. luth. Konferenz in . . .," *Der Lutheraner*, XIV—XVI, 1858—1859.

³⁷ *Protokoll ueber die Verhandlungen des Colloquiums gehalten in Buffalo, N. Y., vom 20. November bis 5. December 1866* (Zweite Auflage. St. Louis: Aug. Wiebusch u. Sohn, 1866).

³⁸ Walter Baepler, *A Century of Grace* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), p. 160.

³⁹ *Verhandlungen der vierten Versammlung der Ev. Luth. Synodal-Conferenz von Nord-Amerika* (St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, etc., n. d.), p. 5.

⁴⁰ *Synodal-Bericht*, 1878, p. 38.

tion on this particular subject.⁴¹ In 1877 Schwan delivered two sermons on the problem of lodges or "secret societies." These sermons were printed in 1880 by request of his congregation in Cleveland.⁴² Professor Fuerbringer refers to this tract as "one of the first and best tracts against lodgery, originating in his congregational experiences."⁴³ His greatest and most significant literary contribution, however, was a simplified and shortened edition of the exposition of Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism. Long dissatisfied with the older and longer and more difficult exposition in the Dietrich Catechism, the Missouri Synod in 1890 appointed President Schwan to produce a better version of this religious textbook.⁴⁴ It was finished by the end of 1893,⁴⁵ and after revision by a committee, was adopted by the Missouri Synod as its official catechism in 1896.⁴⁶

Schwan's long and valuable service to his own church body and to other Lutheran bodies in America was formally recognized in 1893, when the Norwegian Lutheran Church — erstwhile affiliate of the Synodical Conference — conferred upon him the honorary degree of "Doctor of Divinity."⁴⁷

Before concluding this brief sketch of Dr. H. C. Schwan's life and work, we must at least make mention of one other fact. It was through his activity that the Christmas tree was introduced into church services in the West and Midwest.⁴⁸

Dr. Schwan was a man of wonderful health,⁴⁹ never being seriously ill until shortly before his death on May 29, 1905.⁵⁰ He lived in retirement from 1899 until he passed away at the age of eighty-six years. Death came as the result of old age and a stroke which had paralyzed him almost a year before.⁵¹ Funeral services were held on Ascension Day, June 1. Pastor O. Kolbe, close friend

⁴¹ Fuerbringer, *op. cit.*, p. 246. A translation of these theses will be found in Appendix IV.

⁴² *Minutes*, December 3, 1877.

⁴³ Fuerbringer, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

⁴⁴ *Synodal-Bericht*, 1890, p. 83.

⁴⁵ *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Schulblatt*, XXVIII (September—December, 1893). The December issue carried the concluding section of the new Catechism.

⁴⁶ *Synodal-Bericht*, 1896, p. 113.

⁴⁷ Fuerbringer, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

⁴⁸ See Chapter V for a more detailed account of this story.

⁴⁹ Statement of Dr. Seuel in previously mentioned interview.

⁵⁰ *Der Lutheraner*, LXI (June 20, 1905), 198.

⁵¹ Statement by Mrs. Emma Kuechle. Compare also *Die Abendschule*, LI (June 8, 1905), 712.

and companion of the deceased, spoke in the home. Prof. F. Pieper, Schwan's successor as President of Synod, delivered the sermon in the church. His remains were laid away in the beautiful Lake View Cemetery in Cleveland, where the martyred Garfield also lies buried. A small headstone, with the simple and humble inscription so characteristic of Schwan himself, marks the grave: "H. C. Schwan."⁵²

(To be continued)

Editorial Comments and News

In getting the first portion of the biographical study of Dr. Schwan ready for this issue, we approached our Curator as usual for the purpose of getting illustrations. To our surprise we found that there was only one picture available, one that has appeared frequently in various books and periodicals. It is the one used in this present issue. A little further search gave us a greater appreciation of the work that went into this biographical account of a man, once President of the Missouri Synod and the author of one of its most widely known catechisms, who is not known as he truly should be. We know, therefore, that the results of Professor Meier's study are not generally known to our readers and that they will recognize it for the historical contribution which it is. The Institute would appreciate it if our members could loan or give us any pictures of Dr. Schwan. Those suitable will be used to illustrate coming installments of the Schwan biography.

* * *

It is with sincere sorrow that we announce the death of one of our life members, Mr. William G. Bente, who died June 30 of this year at the age of seventy-five. Mr. Bente was a member of the Institute since 1927 and became a life member on April 5, 1946. He also served the California and Nevada District as archivist.

Teacher Paul J. Hillmann wrote an interesting obituary of Mr. Bente in the *California and Nevada Lutheran* (August 21, 1951), from which the following was taken:

"Of the departed brother it may be truthfully said that he was a many-sided man. The industry and integrity that this Christian gentleman displayed in his connection with the W. P. Fuller Com-

⁵² *Der Lutheraner*, LXI (June 20, 1905), 198. Cf. also W. G. Polack, "Henry Christian Schwan, D. D. (1819—1905)," *Walther League Messenger*, XXXI (October, 1922), 86.

pany resulted in his appointment as comptroller of this firm, a position he held until his retirement. Having been denied the privileges and advantages of a high school and college training, he labored consistently to improve himself. Like President Lincoln, he surrounded himself with good books, and his voluminous library was the envy of many of his friends and acquaintances. He was interested especially in the fine arts, but also in literature, the natural sciences, and biography. As a philatelist he accumulated one of the finest stamp collections in Lutheran circles. The writer asked him on one occasion: 'What is your real hobby?' He replied: 'My Church is my hobby.' And so it was, as his library also proved. The bulk of it consisted of books pertaining to religion. He collected every issue of the *Lutheraner*, the *Lutheran Witness*, the *Botschafter*, and all official publications of the California and Nevada District. For many years he subscribed for the *Theological Monthly* and *Lutheran Education*. He was well versed in liturgies, church history, and church architecture. Knowing the value of good reading, it was at his prompting that the Zion Church and School Library was established. It now has more than twelve hundred volumes. The Bente Memorial Library at the California Concordia College was the recipient of a sizable bequest a few years ago to honor the memory of his sainted parents. He was a member of the Concordia Historical Institute, and as District archivist he collaborated with the District History Committee in the collecting, extensive indexing, and filing of historical data of the Pacific Coast synodical area. Being especially interested in the preservation of church records and other informative materials pertaining to church life, he painstakingly gathered great stores of items that had historical significance. As specialist in this field, he prepared an essay on the preservation of church records which was read with profit at the Golden Gate Pastoral and Teachers' Conference. For twenty-seven years he rendered invaluable services as Treasurer of the California and Nevada District, besides serving on numerous committees and boards during his active life. His philanthropic inclinations made him a staunch supporter of the Lutheran Hour, Wheat Ridge Sanatorium, the American Bible Society, and other worthy endeavors. His private benefactions were many also."

Announcement

The April, 1952, issue will be devoted entirely to "The Lutheran Church in Louisiana," by the Rev. John F. Nau of Columbia, S. C. Articles not completed in the January issue will be continued in the July number.

Book Reviews

Great Leaders of the Early Church. By Gerald R. Giving. Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, Minn., 1951. 16 pages, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11$. 20 cents each, \$2.00 per dozen.

Great Leaders of the Reformation. By Gerald R. Giving. Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, Minn., 1951. 16 pages, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11$. 20 cents each, \$2.00 per dozen.

These two booklets, rich in black-and-white sketches and maps, will serve excellently as supplementary reading materials for children of junior high school age. *Great Leaders of the Early Church* includes fifteen biographical sketches from Ignatius to Bernard of Clairvaux. The second booklet contains fourteen sketches from Wycliff to King James I.

The Augustana Lutheran Church in America. Pioneer Period 1846—1860. By Oscar N. Olson. Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Ill., 1950. xvi and 397 pages, $5\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$. \$3.50.

A well-documented history of the religious activities of the Swedish immigrants written for the American reader has long been needed. The comprehensive work of Eric Norelius written in Swedish has generally not been available. George Stephenson's *The Founding of the Augustana Synod 1850 to 1860*, while the best available before this, was limited in its sources and therefore lacked important details. For this reason the Department of Historical Research of the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church is to be commended for sponsoring an extensive history of its synod and for its selection of Dr. Oscar N. Olson, its Director of Historical Research, as the author of its projected three-volume study.

In this first volume, which has now appeared, Dr. Olson has gone to a considerable length to gather the documentary details which make up this highly interesting and important history of the Swedish immigrant of the nineteenth century, emphasizing especially his efforts to establish organized religious activities. The book begins with a description of Swedish emigration and its causes and the various evangelical movements in the Swedish State Church. This portion provides the necessary backdrop to understand some of the basic problems which have vexed the Swedish Lutherans in this country.

The author has given over a number of chapters to the beginnings in the various areas of the Midwest and how the pioneer churches were drawn into the membership of the General Synod and the Synod of Northern Illinois. Some will deplore the weaknesses and the unionistic tendencies of many of the early Lutheran pastors from Sweden, but most readers will be surprised to learn that they were able to remain as loyal to the Scriptures and to the Confessions of the Church when all circumstances are taken into consideration. Chapters on Christian education, publications, and worship life among the pioneers include details which are usually not found in studies of this nature. Dr. Olson has brought the story down to the events which led to a break with the Synod of Northern Illinois in 1860 and thus prepared the way for the formation of the Augustana Synod.

One interesting sidelight taken from the chapter on the Chicago area should be passed along. After a certain Gustaf Smith had gathered a few

Scandinavians in Chicago, he made a number of trips to collect money for a church building. One of these took him to St. Louis, where he secured \$600 from German Lutherans in gratitude for what "the sons of Sweden and their noble King Gustavus Adolphus had done for us Germans in time of need, fought and bled for our freedom and the glorious confession of our church" (p. 168).

The author has used his sources wisely and has worked his material into a readable account which will remain a valuable contribution to the history of the Lutheran Church in America. Historians will look to the forthcoming volumes with great anticipation.

ARTHUR C. REPP

New Members Since Last Printing as of August 15, 1951

Sustaining Members

Rev. Arlen J. Bruns, Great Bend, Kans.
Mr. Geo. F. Herbert,
Richmond Hill, N. Y.
Mrs. R. Kunzmann, Johnston, R. I.

Rev. R. H. C. Meyer, St. Louis, Mo.
Mr. C. F. Spindler, Los Angeles, Calif.
Ida W. Zoch, Decatur, Ill.

Members Who Changed from Active to Sustaining

Rev. John B. Nieman, Barney, North Dak.
Mr. Edward F. Pritzlaff, Milwaukee, Wis.

New Active Members and Subscribers

Mr. Wallace J. Bronner,
Frankenmuth, Mich.
Mr. E. R. Buehl, Akron, Ohio
Rev. Walmar W. Frank, Tulsa, Okla.
Mr. Louis Gerling, Carrollton, Mo.
Rev. A. O. Kaltwasser, Altenburg, Mo.
Rev. H. H. Koppelman, St. Louis, Mo.
Rev. Aug. C. Kroeger, Pampa, Argentina
Rev. Wm. A. Lauterbach, Mayville, Wis.
Rev. Paul G. Littmann, Richmond, Va.
Mr. A. H. Luhrs, St. Cloud, Minn.
Rev. B. Meschke, Norfolk, Nebr.
Rev. Arnold F. Meyer, Topeka, Kans.
Rev. H. C. Mueller, Niagara, N. Dak.

Rev. Paul G. Mueller, Deerbrook, Wis.
Rev. Edgar J. Mundinger,
Kansas City, Kans.
Rev. R. L. Ochs, Columbus, Nebr.
Mr. Henry Poppe, Rockford, Ill.
Rev. R. W. Rimbach,
Port Angeles, Wash.
Mr. Ray Ritthaler, Osage, Wyo.
Rev. Paul E. Schuessler, Milwaukee, Wis.
Mr. R. O. Steinwedel, Peoria, Ill.
Chpl. Edmund W. Weber,
Fort Wayne, Ind.
Mr. H. L. Weichel, Elmira, Ont.
Dean L. C. Wuerffel, St. Louis, Mo.

Accessions

APRIL, 1951 (Continued)

L. V. SCHNEIDER: Walther League Conv. Report, 1926; Mutual Obligation of the Ministry and the Congregation, K. Kretzschmar, C. P. H., 1934; Luther Examined and Re-examined, W. H. T. Dau, C. P. H., 1917; orders of service: dedication, Our Savior, St. Louis, Mo., 1933; 35th anniv., Grace, St. Louis, Mo., 1924; 75th anniv., Immanuel, St. Louis, Mo., 1922; Memorial booklet, R. T. Kretzschmar, (1868—1940); Luth. Church Guide, St. Louis, 1916; picture of Immanuel, St. Louis, school picnic; letter of L. V. Schneider, 1876.

REV. RAYMOND KRUEGER: Order of services: dedication, Bethesda, Pine Lawn, Mo., 1949; cornerstone laying, same cong., 1949; History of Bethesda, Pine Lawn, Mo., 1950.

- REV. W. H. BEWIE: Minutes of Concordia Synod, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885.
 REV. L. H. LOESCH: History of Trinity, Algona, Iowa, 1951; newspaper clipping on the same.
 REV. OSBORN J. REEB: Souvenir badge, Fort Wayne, 1895.
 REV. WM. H. BORNEMANN: Orders of service: 10th anniv., English Luth. Ch. of Our Savior, Torrington, Wy., 1945; dedication, same, 1950; copies of North. Nebr. Dist. Messenger; pictures of Trinity, Morrill, Nebr.
 MESSENGER PRESS: copies of model constitution of Luth. Free Ch., 1949.
 REV. NORMAN G. SCHUMM: Orders of service: ground breaking, Immanuel, Hamilton, Ohio, 1949; cornerstone laying, same, 1950; dedication, same, 1951.
 CONC. PUBL. HOUSE: Bound volumes of: Concordia Theol. Monthly, XXI; Concordia Sunday School Teachers Quarterly, XXXV; Child's Companion, XIV; Young World, XXVIII; Luth. Witness, LXIX; Lutheraner, CVI; Go Quickly and Tell, W. A. Maier, C. P. H., 1950.
 ANNA AND HEDWIG LANGE: Publisher's edition, bound, of: Abendschule, Vols. 1—87, complete; *Blaetter und Blueten*, Vols. 1—36, complete; *Beiblatt u. Frauenfleiss*, 1893—1918; Illustrated Home Journal, Vols. 1-12.
 WALTHER LEAGUE: Bible Student mss. of Dr. Th. Graebner.
 REV. H. H. KOPPELMANN: Sermon (printed) by F. Pieper; pictures and maps.
 DR. RALPH D. OWEN: Histories of: Star of David, Kirchhayn, Wis., 1943; Immanuel, T. Lebanon, Dodge Co., Wis., 1944; Holy Ghost, Bergholz, N. Y., 1943; St. Martin, N. Tonawanda, N. Y., 1943.
 IDA W. ZOE: Newspaper clippings on Lutheran churches in Lancaster, Ohio.
 REV. E. GEO. PEARCE: A Manual of Luth. Activity in Great Britain, January, 1951.
 REV. A. O. WERFELMANN: Old Hymnal, title page missing.
 ARMED SERVICES COMMISSION: The Lutheran Chaplain, 1949—50 (bound).
 LUTH. BRETHERN PUB. CO.: Constitution and By-Laws of Luth. Brethren of America, n. d.

MAY, 1951

- REV. E. J. BERGT: *Proceedings*, Florida-Georgia District, 1948, 1949.
 DR. A. C. REPP: Collection of clippings, dedication, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis.
 PROF. F. W. J. SYLWESTER: Materials pertaining to Oregon parochial school controversy; correspondence, pamphlets, etc.
 REV. F. A. KOLCH: Materials pertaining to Michigan parochial school controversy, correspondence, pamphlets, etc.
 REV. P. G. STEPHAN: Page from "Holie Bible," 1588.
 BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS: *The Foreign Missionary*, January, 1949—January, 1951.
 WALTHER LEAGUE: Materials on Christian Youth Emergency Action.
 CONCORDIA COLLEGE, AUSTIN, TEX.: Back numbers of *Concordia Enterprise*, 1939—1951.
 REV. RUDOLPH GEHLE: History of St. Paul's, Albert, Kans., 1928, 1951.
 REV. RUDOLPH GRAEBNER: A. Biewend, *Luther's Reformation*, Zanesville, Ohio, 1882; J. K. Seidemann, *Dr. Hieronymus Vetus*, n. p., n. d.; G. A. Hinterleitner, *Reichstag zu Worms*, Pilger Buchhandlung, Reading, Pa., 1883.
 REV. PAUL BUSSERT: History of St. Peter's, Gresham, Nebr., 1949.
 REV. G. J. C. GERIKE: Orders of service and history of Zion, Corder, Mo., 1950; of St. Paul's, Green Isle, Minn., 1950; of St. John's, Sherburn, Minn., 1950.
 REV. E. L. SCHNEIDER: History and materials on Lutheran Church of Webster Gardens, Mo.
 PROF. A. O. LEUTHEUSSER: *Luther Album*, compiled by Louis Lange Publishing Co., St. Louis, 1910.
 REV. J. BAUERMEISTER: Order of service, cornerstone laying, Luther High School South, Chicago, Ill., 1951.
 REV. W. J. WERNING: Materials on Christian Family Week.
 REV. J. G. MANZ: Order of service, organ dedication, First St. Paul's, Chicago, Ill., 1951; history of First St. Paul's, Chicago, 1946; dedication book, First St. Paul's, Chicago, 1942.
 L. J. MEYER: History of St. John's, Orange, Calif., 1907.

- REV. A. F. LEDEBUHR: Cornerstone laying, dedication, order of service, Trinity, Carney's Point, N. J., 1950.
- REV. F. A. HERTWIG: History of St. Peter's, Schaumburg, Ill., 1947.
- DR. F. E. MAYER: Collection of pictures.
- REV. H. A. OTT: *Hong Kong Letter*.
- FINNISH APOSTOLIC LUTHERAN CHURCH OF AMERICA: Constitution of same (Finnish), n. d.
- REV. W. G. BOSS: Yearbook, 1951, Faith, Kent, Ohio.
- REV. O. R. GRAUPNER: History of Bethlehem, Mahanomen, Minn., and St. Paul's, Amboy, Minn., 1947.
- E. FEDDERSEN: Various copies of *World Mission*.
- DR. H. B. JOHNSON: "The Location of the German Immigrants in the Middle West," H. B. Johnson, Reprint from *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. XLI, March, 1951, No. 1, pages 1—41.
- REV. W. P. CLAUSEN: Materials on Associated Lutheran Charities Convention, 1951.
- REV. A. GRAF: *Grossvaters Jugenderinnerungen*, C. M. Zorn, Northwestern Publishing House, Milwaukee, Wis., 1910; *Dies und Das*, C. M. Zorn, C. P. H., 1912; order of service, graduation, Seminary, Nagercoil, Southern India, 1951.
- REV. E. L. ROSCHKE: Constitution, Hope, St. Louis, Mo., 1942.
- REV. KARL A. KRIESEL: Greek N. T., with signature of Ferd. S. Buenger.
- PROF. L. BLANKENBUEHLER: Pictures of the following: W. Schumacher, C. A. Hanmeyer; U. Koren; Paul Schwan (?); W. Moll; J. Frick (?); Mr. and Mrs. John C. Rupprecht; and others unidentified.
- MR. AND MRS. JOS BARTHEL: *Luthers Hauspostille* (1st American edition), New York, Heinrich Ludwig, 1846.
- REV. KURT W. BIEL: German Bible, Fr. Dette, Leipzig, 1902.
- ANON: History of Bethlehem, Pleasant Dale, Nebr., 1946; History of St. Paul's, Melrose Park, Ill., 1917; History of St. John's, Havana, Minn., 1915; History of Immanuel, Proviso, Ill., 1908; orders of service re: Holy Cross, St. Louis, 1908; St. Paul, Indianapolis, Ind., 1922; Altenheim, St. Louis, 1907; F. Pieper and A. L. Graebner, 1903; Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, chorus; Concordia Seminary, Springfield; 400th anniversary of Catechism, 1929; Walther League, 1923; catalogs of Concordia College, Conover, N. C., 1914; Walther College, St. Louis, 1900.
- E. T. KOCH: Picture, class of 1898, Addison, Ill.
- REV. C. L. ABEL: "*Himmelsbrief*"; tin lamp used in Log Cabin Seminary.
- REV. ARTHUR A. KLEINDIENST: *District Reports*: Atlantic, 1919; Brazil, 1905; California and Oregon, 1887; Canada, 1888; Central, 1892, 1894; Eastern, 1900; Iowa, 1909, 1910, 1912, 1916; Kansas, 1894, 1895, 1915; Michigan, 1892; North Dakota and Montana, 1910, 1912, 1913, 1915, 1916, 1918, 1919; Oregon and Washington, 1899, 1903, 1910; South Dakota, 1906, 1909; Southern, 1883, 1885, 1894, 1910, 1913; Wisconsin, 1885.
- GERTRUDE AND MARIE FIEHLER: *Blaetter und Blueten*, Vols. 1—9, 11—17, 19, 21—24, 27—29, 33; *Gottes Werk u. den Missouriern*, O. Willkomm; *Lutheran Witness*, Vols. 2—4 (bound); *Die Geschwister*, M. Lenk, Druck und Verlag J. Herrmann, Zwickau, 1908; *Meditations and Contemplations*, J. Rambach, 2 vols., printed for J. Johnson, London, 1763; *Gotthold, Alfred Ira*, C. P. H., 1897; *Pastor E. A. Brauer*, by A. Brauer, C. P. H., 1898; *Licht und Schatten*, M. Lenk, Druck und Verlag J. Herrmann, Zwickau, 1906; *Osterbuch*, F. Lochner, C. P. H., 1879; *Timotheus*, anon., C. P. H., 1878; *Fourth Reader*, C. P. H., 1895; *Zweites Lesebuch*, C. P. H., 1893; Concordia Annual, River Forest, Ill., 1923; *Die Bundesregierung*, E. W. K., Rundschau Publishing Co., Chicago, 1898; *Die Voegel*, H. Duemling, C. P. H., 1880; *Illustriertes Thierleben*, H. Duemling, Verlag von G. Brumder, Milwaukee, 1875; *Bau, Leben und Pflege des menschlichen Koerpers*, H. Duemling, L. Lange Publishing Co., St. Louis, 1884; *Onkel David*, F. W. Herzberger, L. Lange, St. Louis, n. d.; *Dies und Das und noch Etwas*, H. Zagel, L. Lange Publishing Co., St. Louis, 1908; *Reisebilder*, H. Zagel, L. Lange Publishing Co., St. Louis, 1908; *Reisebilder*, H. Zagel, L. Lange Publishing Co., 1907; *Liebe*, A. Ira, Antigo Publishing Co., Antigo, Wis., 1903; *Der Prachtjunge*, A. Ira, C. P. H., n. d.; *Rundschau Bibliothek*, Vol. 21, Verlag der Rundschau Publishing Co., Milwaukee, 1910.

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